More Delay Means Mor[illegible]Will Perish

EDITORIAL

ROA[illegible] up wooden stairways.

Shri[illegible]

Men, [illegible]ren—half-clad—tossed out into the [illegible] sidewalks of New York, without eve[illegible]hat formerly was above their heads.

Charred [illegible]ed from blazing windows.

Death and [illegible]n stalk again through the tenements of our gr[illegible] American cities, and particularly the tenements of New York.

The winter is coming on. And with winter comes the usual criminal holocaust among the poorer people of the cities.

Saturday's Daily Worker stated that four deaths in firetraps had occurred within the two preceding days. That brought the total of such deaths in Greater New York to 41 for the current year. That very night another great conflagration roared through two Harlem tenements, both of which were shameless violations of the housing regulations.

This winter conditions are being made even worse by the high rent racket. All of those ghoulish interests, who could join hands through the Realty Advisory Board and other such racketeering agencies to smash the building employes' strike, are now at work boosting the rentals of the poor.

It is time that New York rose up against these evils, which come so close to the workers' families. Langdon Post, Commissioner of Housing, warned at Tampa that New York is facing the worst housing crisis in its history. These murderous fires, before winter is even well upon us, sound the alarm.

There is a basic remedy for this toll of deaths and poor housing—in public housing with federal cooperation. The few attempts made at this time have been too slow, too small and have not met the emergency. Washington and City Hall must get busy on a large, widespread public housing program. That would be much better than the World's Fair of 1939. It would mean something for the tenement-ridden poor.

There are immediate steps, likewise, against the firetrap menace and the high rent racketeering which goes with it.

Tenants' organizations, trade unions, consumers' unions, neighborhood groups, Parent-Teachers Associations and the city officials are called upon to meet at once—not for a conference of talk but of action—to carry out a fighting program that will bring the landlords to time. There is not a day to be lost.

PERIODICAL RM
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ACC

5 Government Planes Bomb Fascist Airport

Nazis Turn Down British-French Proposals Against Intervention in Spain and for Plebiscite on Government

(By United Press)

MADRID, Dec. 13.—Five Government bombing planes protected by eight pursuit planes raided Fascist airdromes near Vitoria, destroying numerous enemy planes, it was announced today.

Fascist planes rose from the Martine Zaragone Airdrome and engaged the Government raiders in a ten-minute dog fight.

Official reports from Bilbao admitted that one Government bomber had crashed in flames near the state of Vitoria, but claimed that two Fascist pursuit planes had been shot down.

The Bilbao despatches placed the Basque militia at Alto de Salismendi, four kilometers southwest of Villareal. Government cannon poured more than 500 shells into the houses of Villa Real where Fascists still were holding out, while Government planes dropped incendiary bombs on Casa Forestal, near the town, firing the house and driving Fascists into Villareal.

ATTACK REPULSED

The Madrid front remained relatively quiet. Artillery, machine gun, trench mortar and rifle fire broke out along the northwest Madrid sectors at midnight and continued

(Continued on Page 2)

BOSTON RALLY TO AID SPAIN

BOSTON, Dec. 13.—Boston trade unionists and progressives are expected to pack Symphony Hall Monday night to give a rousing welcome from the Bay city to the three representatives of the Madrid Government touring the country to arouse support for the defenders of democracy in Spain.

Blocks of tickets have been purchased by many unions, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union is collecting money for the Spanish fund in all its shops.

The trio of speakers from Spain will be Isabel de Palencia, Madrid's minister to Sweden; the Rev. Father Luis Sarasola, Catholic priest; and Marcelino Domingo, president of the Left-Republican Party. Rev. Clarence R. Skinner of the Dean Tufts School of Religion will preside.

PICKET NAZI CONSULATE

(Special to the Daily Worker)

BOSTON, Mass., Dec. 13. — A picket line almost a block long protesting Nazi intervention in Spain was thrown before the Nazi Consulate yesterday by the anti-Fascist women of Boston.

The protest picket line was formed by members of the Women's Committee for the Defense of Spanish Democracy.

EMBASSY TO GREET YOUTH DELEGATION

De los Rios Spokesman to Meet Young Spanish Group at Ship Today

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13. — Ambassador Fernando de los Rios of Spain yesterday announced that an official representative of the Embassy would greet the delegation of the Spanish Youth Front which arrives on the Queen Mary this morning for a tour of this country and Canada on behalf of the Spanish people.

Jose Gibernau of the Embassy staff will welcome the delegates, along with a committee of American youth leaders and college editors.

In a statement Ambassador de los Rios declared that he had learned "with great enthusiasm" of the impending tour of the Spanish delegation and endorsed the tour as one which by its success would see to it that "justice was done to the people of Spain."

ARRIVAL GREETED

The imminent arrival of the Spanish youth delegation has

(Continued on Page 2)

112 in Akron Patch Shop Go on Strike For Wage Increases

AKRON, Ohio, Dec. 13.—Workers of the Lowenthal Company, manufacturers of rubber patching materials, is on strike and all 112 of its workers are picketing today.

The strike is authorized by the United Rubber Workers. President Sherman H. Dalrymple of the union stated the demands as follows:

Fifteen per cent wage raise for workers who now get 45 to 55 cents an hour, ten per cent raise for piece workers, who now draw 60 to 90 cents an hour, and a five cents an hour raise for scrap sorters, with a 60 cents an hour factory base rate.

Report 100 Cases of Smallpox in Danville

More than 100 cases of smallpox have been reported in Danville, a small town 44 miles from Rochester, Health Commissioner John L. Rice reported here Saturday.

A Race for $100,000 And How You Can Help

There's going to be a $100,000 handicap race at Santa Anita, California, next February which the horse of some rich man will win for him by finishing first.

One of America's wealthiest capitalists, who hopes to be enriched by that race, will not be satisfied with that, however. In order to make it possible for him to enter the same horse that will run there also in the Widener Cup $50,000 stake race in Florida a few days later, he has just chartered a huge transport airplane at large expense to fly his racing horse between the two tracks.

He is spending a small fortune to rebuild the plane into a luxurious and comfortable flying stable for his horse that he expects will beat out large chunks of gold for him with its fleet hoofs.

SEND YOURS NOW

The Daily and Sunday Worker today, too, are in a race for $100,000—but not because they want that money to pile up on top of other fortunes in a vault.

It is carrying on a $100,000 fund drive because it wants to continue to serve the most vital needs of the working class, because it wants to support the unions in their struggles, because it wants to keep on being a bulwark of strength to the fighting democratic people of Spain—to carry on the work and fight for a better world for all the masses.

It is for this it asks you to contribute to this $100,000 fund. Money is needed urgently now. Send your contribution today to help us meet our current expenses—to help us continue our papers.

HERE ARE SOME WAYS

Trade unions, Communist Party organizations, fraternal bodies, in-

(Continued on Page 2)

Bridges to Speak for Sea Strikers at Garden Rally Wednesday

WEATHER: Fair; little change in temperature; moderate northerly winds.

EASTERN N. Y. STATE: Fair with little change in temperature.

Daily Worker

PEOPLES CHAMPION OF LIBERTY, PROGRESS, PEACE AND PROSPERITY

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CARNEGIE LIBRARY OF PITTSBURGH

DRIVE JAPANESE INVADERS OUT, CAPTORS OF CHIANG DEMAND

MARINE STRIKE LEADERS MAP TACTICS TODAY

Bridges to Speak at Garden Rally on Wednesday Night

BULLETIN

(Special to the Daily Worker)

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 13.—Harry Bridges, leader of the West Coast maritime strike, will speak at the Olympia Arena, Broad and Bainbridge Sts., tomorrow evening. The meeting is under the auspices of the Strike Strategy Committee of the International Seamen's Union.

A general invitation has been broadcast to the whole trade union movement. Shipyard workers of Camden, N. J., and Chester, Pa., are expected to attend en masse, as are many longshoremen.

SPEAKS AT GARDEN WEDNESDAY

Harry Bridges, internationally famous leader of the Pacific Coast maritime workers, will arrive in New York today.

After a few hours' stay, Bridges will journey to Philadelphia to keep a speaking engagement. Tomorrow he will address a meeting in Boston and on Wednesday night he the chief speaker at a trade union rally at Madison Square Garden.

Bridges, who is head of the International Longshoremen's Association on the West Coast, will confer with Joseph P. Ryan, president of the I. L. A. He will also meet with Joseph Curran, leader of the Strike Strategy Committee of the International Seamen's Union.

Delegates of the various strike committees in east coast cities will gather today at the Manhattan Lyceum, 66 E. Fourth St., to map further plans for the marine strike. The delegates will also work out the details of taking the I.S.U. machinery out of the hands of strike-breaking officials and turning it over to the rank and file.

TO NAME TRUSTEES

A board of trustees for the union will probably be named at today's conference. The new trustees will be empowered to collect union dues. Actions in the courts to obtain final legal approval may be undertaken afterwards.

Delegates will also pay special attention to plans for a fight on

(Continued on Page 2)

DETROIT WHEEL WORKERS WIN IN SIT-DOWN

Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Grants 75 Cent Minimum Wage in Plants

(Daily Worker Michigan Bureau)

DETROIT, Mich., Dec. 13.—The Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Company sit-down strikers won a smashing precedent-setting victory when the company agreed to establish a 75 cent minimum hourly wage for all workers employed in their two Detroit plants Thursday.

Among those who benefit are girls who had been making 57½ cents an hour, and sweepers, porters, laborers and other workers who had been making 62½ cents and 65 cents an hour. This is the first time in the history of the automobile industry that such a scale has been set as minimum for all workers, including the newly-hired.

This victory was wrung from the company during a four and a half hour conference between United Auto Workers' Union representatives and company officials. It was agreed that the plant is to re-open tomorrow morning.

A committee of union officials representatives from every department in the two plants will negotiate further with the company to increase wages for the remaining departments.

OTHER DEMANDS WON

They are five cents an hour increase for workers in the higher wage categories; a 40-hour, five-day week, with time and a half for overtime; adjustment of the speed-up and improvement of sanitary conditions.

The sit-down strikers in an overflow meeting at the Polish Falcon Hall received news of the victory with tremendous cheers of approval. They elected their department representatives for the negotiations. A committee was chosen to meet the

(Continued on Page 2)

800 SIT DOWN IN CANTON

Company Insists Union Without Members Conduct Parley

CANTON, Ohio, Dec. 13. — The day shift, 800 men, "sat down" at the Hercules Motor Corporation plant here Saturday and are holding the works, with food sent in by the workers outside and by their families.

The strikers are demanding recognition as the bargaining agent of the employes of the United Automobile Workers Local 161 here, to which the workers actually belong.

The company insists that an old federal union, now without members, and Local 812 of the International Association of Machinists, to which about 60 men belong, shall be the agents in collective bargaining.

The shop committee of the I.A.M. Local 812 has attempted to stab the strikers and their United Automobile Workers Union in the back by publishing a statement in the local press. The statement points out the United has been suspended from the A. F. of L. for connections with the Committee for Industrial Organization, then declares the Machinists have a contract which runs to June 30, 1937, and will not strike.

PRISONER

CHIANG KAI-SHEK

WPA UNIONS, JOBLESS MAP PLANFORRALLY

City Hall Demonstration Saturday to Demand Relief Increased

With last Saturday's powerful anti-layoff demonstration as an example, WPA and unemployed workers yesterday were speeding plans for a mass rally at City Hall next Saturday.

The rally will not only attack WPA discharges but will also demand a 40 per cent increase in home relief and an end to arbitrary reduction of the home reliefs. Jobless workers who have participated in a number of sit-in strikes at home relief precincts will be in the van of next Saturday's demonstration.

Considerable interest was also evidenced yesterday in the possible showdown between WPA Administrator Col. Brehon B. Somervell and the Federation of Supervisors Councils, organization of project executives.

STRIKE THREATENED

Urging the reinstatement of 85 theatrical project workers and three supervisors discharged for participating in anti-layoff sit-down strike, the Federation threatened to strike unless reinstatement is forthcoming by Thursday.

Last week Col. Somervell, retreating under pressure of the organized workers and apparently after some chiding from Washington, held out the possibility of reinstatement for the discharged workers.

The issue of WPA strike action by supervisors threw an agitated note into the meeting of theatrical unions at the Manhattan Opera House Saturday.

BLOCK WATSON

After Heywood Broun, president of the American Newspaper Guild, got unanimous support for a resolution demanding the reinstatement of dismissed WPA strikers, Morris Watson, supervisor of the WPA Living Newspaper and a leader of the Supervisors Federation, sought to take the floor.

No sooner did Watson rise than

(Continued on Page 2)

Ex-King Guest of Rothschilds Near Vienna

(By United Press)

VIENNA, Dec. 13.—Edward, former king of Britain, will stay in Austria as a guest of the Rothschilds, bankers, it was learned authoritatively today. He will reside at the Rothschild chateau at Enzesfeld, outside of Vienna.

It was understood that Edward plans to remain at Enzesfeld until Christmas or later and then spend three or four months at Salzburg or some resort in the Tyrol.

Mother and 3 Children Die in Akron Fire As Father Attempts Rescue

AKRON, Ohio, Dec. 13 (UP).—Mrs. George Thomas and her three children were burned to death today when they were trapped in the bathroom of a flaming duplex house. Thomas, 39, a rubber worker, was severely burned while attempting to save his family.

China's Millions Marching To Smash Japanese Invader

By Harry Gannes

China is on the march.

Tokyo realizes only too well that the "mutiny" of the Chinese troops in Shensi and the seizure of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek are but the sensational symptoms of a more elemental upsurge of the 400,000,000 Chinese people.

A new day is dawning in China, a dawn that will ultimately eclipse the imperialism of the rising sun.

The greatest military leaders of China were drawn into the vortex of the mass demand for a unified China, embracing the Communists and the Red Army, for the sole objective of defeating the chief enemy, Japanese imperialism, and of achieving the national independence of China.

"NO ALTERNATIVE"

Even a fence-sitting general like Han Fu-chu, governor of Shantung province, who wavered between allegiance to Chiang Kai-shek and Japanese imperialism, on Oct. 29, in an interview with the Japanese official news agency, Domei, declared: "Should Japan use force in Hopei or in Shantung, China will have no alternative but to fight."

The Nanking Generalissimo finally realized that if he were not able to break the control of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang and the powerful army concentrated in Shensi, Shansi and Kansu provinces, ostensibly against the Red Army and Chinese Communists, the movement for a unified China, as put forward by the Communist Party of China, would sweep all obstacles before it.

Therefore, Chiang Kai-shek recently decided on a personal visit to Sian, capital of Shensi, which is virtually in the path of the Jap-

(Continued on Page 6)

Progressives Win in Teamsters' Union

New Officials Will Seek Unity with Other Crafts in Transport Industry—All But One Office Won by 'Gold Standard Ticket'

By S. W. Gerson

Routing an entrenched machine, progressive teamsters yesterday swept into office a complete rank and file ticket, winning every office but one, from president to business agent, in Truck Drivers Local 807, International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

In a tense atmosphere, with police lining the curb outside and scores of drivers jamming the sidewalks and street outside, tellers last night announced the results of the day-long balloting. The balloting was held at Beethoven Hall, 5th St. and 3rd Ave.

Leading the rank-and-file slate, which campaigned as "The Gold Standard Ticket," was William Devery, who was elected president over the incumbent, Ben Cunningham, by a vote of 694 to 644.

OTHERS ELECTED

The other officers elected were:

John Hughes—Vice-president.

Samuel Brennan—Recording secretary.

Thomas Hickey—Secretary-treasurer.

Austin Purey, Michael Schwartz—Trustees.

William Campbell, Thomas Clark—Business agents.

Hickey, running for what is considered by the drivers as the most strategic position in the local, led the rank-and-file ticket, defeating his opponent, Joseph J. McCrann, by a vote of 824 to 564.

The single "Gold Standard" nominee to lose out was John McCarthy, who failed of election by only nine votes. However, even in this case the administration candidates were defeated. Joseph O'Laughlin, running as independent, was the

(Continued on Page 2)

League Group to Meet On Ethiopian Issue

GENEVA, Dec. 13 (UP).—A committee of 28 nations, established by the League of Nations Assembly last October, meets tomorrow to grope with the problem of league reform growing out of Italy's Ethiopian conquest.

Browder Report to Central Committee In Today's Issue, P. 3

The Daily Worker publishes today as a special four-page supplement the report of Earl Browder, general secretary, to a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party on Dec. 4. It begins on page 3 of this issue.

This report analyzes in detail the results of the election campaign, the national and international situation, and discusses the tasks confronting the Communist Party.

No one interested in the cause of peace or the future of progressive aims in the United States can afford to miss this important document.

ASK MAYOR ACT ON ERB STATUS

Strike of 11,000 Social Workers Hinges on LaGuardia's Action

The Emergency Relief Bureau Employes' Union announced last night that it depended "entirely upon Mayor LaGuardia whether there will be a strike of 11,000 persons administering home relief."

At the same time the union issued a call to all ERB workers to attend a mass mobilization meeting in Mecca Temple, 130 W. 56th St. tomorrow night.

The meeting, according to the Association of Workers in Public Relief Agencies in the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes, A. F. of L. union of ERB workers, will consider a "series of actions in protest against the arbitrary ruling of the Municipal Civil Service Commission" and "the failure of Mayor LaGuardia to take a defensive stand on the request for a postponement of the open competitive examination for ERB investigators scheduled for Dec. 30."

BAR EXAMS

ERB workers are opposed to the competitive examination on the grounds that their training and experience of four years in their present jobs entitle them to qualifying instead of open competitive examinations. An action for a declaratory judgment against the holding of the Dec. 30 examination was filed in the Supreme Court by the union on Nov. 4 last. On Nov. 14, Mayor LaGuardia urged the Civil Service Commission, the Board of the ERB and the ERB union to conduct negotiations for an "agreed state of facts" in the court suit so that adjudication of the legal controversy may be completed before Dec. 30.

Last week it was announced that these negotiations had been broken off when James E. Finegan, chairman of the Civil Service Commission, refuted a number of statements submitted by Edmund Borgia Butler, director of the ERB. Following this, Abram Flaxer, general manager of the union, wrote Mayor LaGuardia requesting that he set up an impartial board of arbitration to settle the differences between the Civil Service Commission and the Board of the ERB. Pointing out that it was now "virtually impossible" to obtain adjudication of

(Continued on Page 2)

PEOPLE'S FIGHT ON TOKIO WAR LORDS URGED

2,000 Peiping Students Demonstrate in Park Against Invaders

(By Cable to the Daily Worker)

MOSCOW, Dec. 13.—The Tass Agency announced today that it had been authorized to declare that the report of the Tokio Nichi-Nichi spread by the Domei-Tsushin Agency that Chang Hsueh-liang had formed a government backed by the Soviet Union, which had entered into an offensive-defensive alliance with the U.S.S.R., was without any basis in fact and was a malicious fabrication.

SHANGHAI, Dec. 13.—All of vast China seethed with excitement today as news of the capture yesterday of Gen. Chiang Kai-shek, China's military dictator, by the Manchurian troops of Gen. Chang Hsueh-liang, swept the country.

Raising the rallying-cry of a China united in opposing the Japanese invaders, Chang flashed from his headquarters of Sian-fu, Shensi province, a circular telegram to all Chinese military leaders, setting forth the conditions on which Chiang Kai-shek would be released. These were:

CHANG'S DEMANDS

1. All armies and factions in China must join in war on Japan.
2. The Nanking Government shall be replaced by a "National Defense Government."
3. Nanking's ban against the anti-Japanese movement must be lifted at once, and full protection given all popular and patriotic societies.
4. All political prisoners must be released.
5. Freedom of speech and the press are to be restored.
6. Property of traitors who have betrayed to the Japanese to be confiscated.
7. The civil war against the Chinese Red Army to be halted at once.
8. A united front shall be formed with the Communists to recover territories lost to Japan, including Manchuria and Jehol. Carrying out the testament of Sun Yat-Sen, founder of the Kuomintang, Communists are to be readmitted into the Kuomintang.

CLASH REPORTED

The garrison of Nanking troops at Loyang, Honan province, is reported to have rallied behind Gen. Chang. There was no word about Mme. Chiang Kai-Shek, who flew by plane from Nanking to Loyang, formerly center of Chianf's "Communism suppression campaign."

Meanwhile the Executive Yuan, highest authority of the Nanking Government, named Gen. Ho Ying-chin, veteran aid of Generalissimo Chiang, to lead an expeditionary force against Marshal Chang Hsueh-Liang.

Gen. Ho's troops are reported to have clashed already with Gen. Chang's men at Lanchow and severe fighting is said to be in progress along the Lunghai railway in Shensi province. Other reports stated that Chang's advance positions, between Tung Kwo and Lian, had been attacked.

Reports stated that Gen. Ho was trying to enter into negotiations with Chang. The fighting began be-

(Continued on Page 2)

Florida Is Divided On Proposed Canal

OCALA, Fla., Dec. 13 (UP).—North and South Florida divided sharply, into two camps tonight as a new crisis approached in the fight for the $162,985,000 Atlantic-Gulf ship canal.

Bitterness, which last year caused a strong movement in South Florida to divide the peninsula into two states, was developing again as proponents and opponents of the project prepared for a hearing which may decide its fate.

Delegate to Brazil On WJZ Tonight

Tonight at 5 P. M., Isabelle Soule, who visited Brazil recently under auspices of the Joint Committee for Defense of the Brazilian People, will speak over station WJZ and the Blue Network on "Women in Brazil."

Labor's Neediest Cases Are Labor's Fighters--Help Them

COLUMN LEFT!

Listen, People of Madrid!

By Harrison George

ARE you listening, people of Madrid?

I want to tell you something.

I want to assure you that twenty men, five women, and about fifteen children are with you in your fight against fascism.

Before you laugh at that, listen, Madrilenos!

New York City, with 7,500,000 people can beat, and has beaten, this meeting I tell you of. But this small meeting I speak of means something to you.

Because these few people I'm speaking of are among the poorest of New York City's millions. And they were gathered in the city's poorest section, down under the Brooklyn Bridge in perhaps the most desolate slums of the metropolis. As bad as, if not worse, than any in your Cuatro Caminos.

It was raining. It was cold. They had to sit in overcoats most of the time in candle light because the electricity was not working somehow. And what a mixture of races!

Firstly, the meeting was arranged by Korean workers. Korea, you know, is an almost forgotten spot on the map of Asia, crushed under the heel of military-fascist Japan. Always in revolt, about 75,000 Koreans are arrested each year for "political offenses." In New York there are but a handful of Korean workers. And they remember you, people of Madrid!

Then, we had music by a Puerto Rican band. You've heard of Puerto Rico, haven't you? The nation subjected to Wall Street imperialism. Well, here were Puerto Ricans playing music for you, people of Madrid.

And there were Spaniards there, too! A Spanish speaker, who warmed the cold room with his fervent plea for y o u! Spanish women, too, w h o silenced their noisy little ones in the language of Cervantes and Ferrar.

Then I spoke, I an American, asking them to help you, people of Madrid! And if y o u could have seen Luisa, three-year-old grand-daughter of Spain, black eyes sparkling with pride at passing the hat, shyly but proudly bringing in the collection, you would have valued those few small pieces of silver those poor people gave to you in terms beyond their exchange in pesetas!

Hold fast, people of Madrid! These people, the best people on earth, and with you heart and soul!

PLANES BOMB AIRPORT; DOWN FASCIST SHIPS

Enemy Ships Destroyed at Vitoria—2 Others Shot Down

(Continued from Page 1)

for several hours. Early reports indicated that neither side had changed its position.

The Fascists attempted to storm into the city from the Casa de Campo, but the militia turned them back after a brisk, brief fight.

After several hours the firing died down.

In the last week and a half cold weather has virtually halted all military operations along the Madrid front. The Fascists have attempted several sorties, but were repulsed.

DRIVE IN NORTH

Fighting was reported in the North, where the semi-autonomous Basque Government reportedly was ready to start an offensive to recapture San Sebastian and Irun.

The Fascists captured Irun this Fall after a bloody struggle which lasted several weeks. The government abandoned San Sebastian, Spain's "Summer Capital," and set up headquarters at Bilbao. Gen. Francisco Franco withdrew his main forces from the North to aid in the siege of Madrid.

MILITIA GAINS

Government reports said the militia moved forward from Bilbao and attacked the Fascists in the Villareal sector. The Basque militia reportedly gained several miles southwest of Villareal, completing an encircling operation.

Fascist leaders admitted strong pressure from the government forces in this sector, but denied they were "sorely pressed." Dispatches from Bilbao said the Basques were encamped at Alto de Saismendi, three miles Southwest of Villareal.

Government cannon poured more than 500 shells into houses in Villareal, where fascist troops were barricaded, while g o v e r n m e n t planes dropped incendiary bombs on Casa Forestal, near Villareal, firing several houses and driving the fascists into the town.

Positions of both armies remained unchanged along the Madrid front after sporadic artillery fire throughout the day. Fighting broke out in the Moncloa and Rosales districts in the Northwest, but died down after several hours.

Artillery Bombards Madrid—20 Wounded

MADRID, Monday, Dec. 14 (UP). Fascist Artillery units bombarded the capital during the night and infantry forces attempted another advance, but the Government defenders held firm.

Half a dozen Fascist shells fell in the vicinity of the North Railway station and injured 20 persons. Shells hit the station and destroyed several sheds.

Shoot Down Franco Brother's Plane

MADRID, Dec. 14 (UP).—The War Office announced today that Government pursuit planes brought down the "White Dove," said to be the airplane of Col. Ramon Franco, brother of General Francisco Franco, head of the Fascist Junta.

Officials said the "White Dove" made a forced landing near Laguna des Antillanan in the Sierra Mountains North of Madrid. One of the plane's crew, they said, was killed while the other escaped. Franco's fate was not known.

The Colonel, former Spanish Air Attache in Washington, came here recently to aid his brother.

Nazis Turn Down Plebiscite Proposal

BERLIN, Dec. 13.—The German government tonight refused to accept the Anglo-French proposals against intervention and for a plebiscite in Spain.

Germany would not have anything to do with any government but that of Gen. Francisco Franco, Hitler's straw-man in Spain.

The reply contradicted the Feb. 16 election results, which resulted in a People's Front landslide, by stating that "other elements" (the Madrid-Valencia government) are incapable of representing the Spanish people.

Shown above in the great hall of the Kremlin Palace in Moscow are a few of the 2,000 delegates to the Eighth Extraordinary Soviet Congress which adopted the new Soviet Constitution.

Young Alexander Spoke Against War—So The Steel Trust Got Him a Year in Prison

The Daily Worker will publish between now and Christmas case-histories of political prisoners in the United States, for whose benefit the Prisoners Relief Fund of the International Labor Defense is conducting a $20,000 Christmas Drive. Funds from this drive, together with good warm clothing and toys for the kids which will be contributed, are to be used to relieve the misery of hundreds of labor prisoners in jail, and their families outside, in the holiday season.

Case No. 62

The courts of Pennsylvania don't do things by halves. Especially when it comes to labor cases. Take the case of young George Alexander. The courts of Pennsylvania don't like such outspoken youngsters. They don't like young people who know what their rights are and have the nerve to defend them. All that George Alexander did was to speak at an anti-war meeting in McKeesport, Pa., attended by 4,000 people. The police broke up the meeting, because McKeesport is owned by the Steel Trust, which makes good money out of war.

The courts ruled that Alexander was guilty of "riot." On top of that they added a charge of "inciting to riot" and convicted him of that too. Now he must stay in the Boys' Reformatory at Morganiza, Pa., for one year. There is no danger that George Alexander will receive the usual education that is provided by reformatories, universally recognized as the foremost universities of crime. Boys like George Alexander cannot be corrupted.

FAMILY ON RELIEF

But boys like George need the encouragement that comes with knowing that they are not forgotten, that they have friends on the outside, who think of them and help look after their people at home. George's family is on relief and it will make his time much easier to serve when he knows that hundreds of unknown friends are helping to send them that extra money every month that makes all the difference in the world.

At Christmas time, we want to send them something extra, for holiday cheer and to help them through the coldest weather. You can help by sending your contribution to the Christmas Fund of the I.L.D., Room 610, 80 E. 11th St., New York City, or by contributing through your local I.L.D. branch.

George Alexander and his family are only one group among hundreds of labor prisoners and their dependents who will benefit from your contribution of money, good warm clothes and shoes—and don't forget, good toys for the kids.

Uptown Families To Picket ERB

Alliance Leader in 34th Precinct Says Only $4,000 Fund for Clothing Is on Hand for Needs of 5,000 Families—Demonstration on Thursday

(Daily Worker Harlem Bureau)

Thousands of families in Washington Heights this week will mass in picket lines and demonstrations to protest the shoe-string clothing allotment recently announced by the Home Relief Bureau, Precinct 34, in that section.

The actions will be held under the auspices of the Manhattanville and Washington Heights locals of the Workers Alliance. An all-day picket line will be thrown around the bureau tomorrow and Wednesday, leading up to a gigantic demonstration Thursday, from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m., at 171st Street and Broadway.

Lil Denich, speaking for the Alliance yesterday, said that precinct 34 had received a scant $4,000 as its clothing allotment for 5,000 families in the community.

The campaign includes, Denich explained, resolutions for winter clothes to the City Relief Administration and to Washington. A delegation of parents and children will visit the Child Welfare Department demanding that they put pressure on the Home Relief officials to immediately clothe all needy children.

"Only those families in dire need receive any consideration at all. And even they only get from three to five dollars for winter clothes for the entire family," Denich said.

"Here's one example: A family of four—father, mother and two children—put in a request for shoes, rubbers, hats, warm underwear and winter dresses for wife and children. After weeks of delay they received $2.70 as their allotment."

Many needy families will speak at the demonstration Thursday. Numerous labor and progressive organizations are supporting the actions.

WPA UNIONS, JOBLESS MAP PLAN FOR RALLY

City Hall Demonstration Saturday to Demand Relief Increased

(Continued from Page 1)

chairman James J. Brennan of the stagehands union adjourned the meeting and the band struck up "The Stars and Stripes Forever."

Cries went up: "Let's hear Watson" and the supervisor was pushed to one side of the hall where he mounted a chair and began to speak. Guards, wearing committee badges, removed him from the chair, but Broun came to Watson's help, leading him to the platform. There, while the hall lights blinked on and off, Watson put this question to the audience, about 900 of whom were still in the hall:

"I want to ask you this: If we supervisors strike, will you walk through our picket lines?"

"No!" was the thunderous reply.

WITHHOLDS COMMENT

Saturday's demonstration revealed strong differences between the attitude of old-line leaders of the craft theatrical unions and that of their members, observers agreed yesterday. In the event that WPA workers and supervisors, or the latter alone, walk out this week, they will undoubtedly get strong support from the rank and file of the stage unions.

Watson would not comment yesterday on the incident. He did repeat, however, that the supervisors were determined to maintain their position for the reinstatement of their three discharged associates. Whether a guard had pulled a gun in the scuffle attendant upon his speaking, Watson did not know. Eyewitnesses to the incident informed the Daily Worker later that at least one guard had pulled his revolver when Watson stood up.

BAKERS QUIT STRUCK PLANT

Leave After Repulsing Gas Bomb Attack By Deputies

DETROIT, Mich., Dec. 13.—The 300 Gordon Bakery sit-down strikers left the plant yesterday on terms of honorable truce after they had repulsed twenty gas bombers.

Even after a circuit court had dismissed warrants sought by the company lawyers, the deputies tried to drive the strikers out.

They rushed the doors of the plant, and hurled tear gas bombs. The strikers retaliated with loaves of stale bread, opened the windows, let the gas escape and stood fast.

A conference followed, during which, according to Federal Conciliator Edward C. McDonald, the company pledged to open negotiations, keep the plant closed until settlement was reached, and take back all strikers without discrimination after settlement.

The men belong to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers. The strike has been going on for a week,

PROGRESSIVE TRUCKERS WIN

(Continued from Page 1)

only nominee "off" the "Gold Standard" who came through successfully.

"FOR ALL MEMBERS"

Sixteen patrolmen, two sergeants and a headquarters detail of five plainsclothesmen were on hand. The police were under the command of Detective Lieutenant Vincent Keenan.

Enforcement of union contracts and the abolition of the evil of "under the hat" (work done by union men at wages under the union scale), democracy in the union and unity with the other crafts in the transport industry were the planks on which the progressive ticket campaigned.

In a statement immediately after tellers announced his victory, president-elect Devery reiterated his pledge to fight for enforcement of union conditions. He would attempt no reprisals against any man who opposed him, despite the bitterness of the campaign, Devery said. "I'm the president for all the members of the union," he concluded.

Hickey, the new secretary-treasurer, echoed the viewpoint of Devery.

VOTE BY MACHINES

Early in the day, the unusual interest in the elections was manifest when scores of truckdrivers, some in working clothes, presented themselves at the polling booths. Voting was done on machines, a fact which progressives regarded as a concession to their demands for an honest election.

At 1 P.M. the line of voters extended from the hall to the corner of Third Avenue, about 200 feet. At about 5 P.M. the line swung halfway down the block on Third Avenue. The men stamped their feet and waved their arms to keep warm, but none left.

Inside, administration c h i e f s grew more and more glum as it became more and more apparent that the large turnout spelled defeat for them. "Gold Standard" watchers, husky, raw-boned fellows, eyed the officials narrowly. Under the close scouting of the muscular rank-and-filers few attempts were made to bar voters.

WATERFRONT UNITY SEEN

Scores of "Gold Standard" supporters awaited the results for hours. When the election of Devery and Hickey was made known to them by an unofficial tabulator who yelled from a window, a big cheer went up.

Determined not to be cheated, "Gold Standard" men were ready to battle for their rights in a fair election. It was the determination and discipline of the rank and file, observers felt, that prevented any attempt at irregularities. One "Gold Standard" supporter expressed to the Daily Worker correspondent what was perhaps the prevailing sentiment among the teamsters.

"Boy," he said, doubling his fist, "boy, if they pyp us this time, there'll be war." He stressed the words "this" and "war."

Persons close to the trade union situation in New York hold that yesterday's election means the beginning of the end of the unquestioned sway of Michael J. Cashal, chief of the Teamsters' Council, opposed by thousands of drivers. It will also undoubtedly have the effect of welding a greater unity between all crafts on the waterfront, it is felt, and may be the beginning of the type of labor cooperation that exists on the San Francisco docks.

EMBASSY TO GREET YOUTH DELEGATION

(Continued from Page 1)

evoked an enthusiastic response from American youth leaders, college editors, trade unionists, and many progressives, it was announced yesterday by the United Youth Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, under whose auspices the nation-wide tour of the Spanish youth delegates will be made.

The four delegates will speak for all sections of the People's Front. Josefina Ramirez, of the Youth Division of the Republican Union, is a director of a military hospital. Ignaz Eugenio is a student of the Catholic University of Louvain and secretary of the Catholic paper "Cruz y Rayo."

Luis Simmarro is military commander of the United Young Socialist League, recently seriously wounded in battle. He is accompanied by his wife Maria, who is a director of Children's Homes in Spain and an expert nurse.

EDITOR WELCOMES FOUR

Characterizing the s t r u g g l e against the Franco Insurrection as "a fight being waged by the Spanish Government against the forces of Fascism abroad" and one "which American students may some day face here," Thomas M. Jones, editor of the Columbia University Daily Speculator, and chairman of the United Youth Committee for Aid to Spanish Democracy, called upon American youth to demonstrate its support for the Spanish people.

"It matters not whether our hope for peace," said Mr. Jones, "lies in pacifist refusal to bear arms, in a pledge of neutrality, or in a militant battle against fascism. Americans must recognize these students and those whom they represent as the defenders of a governmental principle which we cherish.

"In this spirit we welcome this group to America and greet them as fellow students sacrificing themselves to the preservation of democratic government in Spain."

INVITED BY UNION

Charles Zimmerman, president of Local 22 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, has invited one of the Spanish youth delegates to address a mass meeting of union members at Madison Square Garden next Thursday afternoon, to give a first hand account of the current struggle in Spain.

FASCISTS BAR A PLEBISCITE

GIBRALTAR, Dec. 13 (UP).—General Gonzalo Queipo de Llano, official spokesman for the Spanish fascists, today rejected the proposal of foreign powers that Spain's civil war might be settled by a plebiscite among the people to determine which side most of them favored.

Speaking over the radio, the general said:

1—That the fascists could not agree to such a plebiscite.

2—That if one were held and the loyalists won it, the rebels could never accept the result.

Picket Polish Consulate Against Student's Hanging

A mass picket line will be thrown in front of the Polish Consulate, 151 E. 67 St., today in a last-minute attempt to save the life of Sergei Pryiycki, 23-year-old White Russian student, twice sentenced to be hanged for shooting a stool-pigeon.

Pryiycki's final appeal for clemency will come up before the Polish Supreme Court tomorrow. He was arrested Jan. 27, 1936, on charges of slaying a Polish agent-provocateur, Streichuk, through whose efforts many Polish anti-fascists had been killed or jailed by the Polish fascist police.

The Pryiycki Defense Committee, 80 E. 11th St., has issued an appeal to all anti-fascists to rally to save the life of the courageous White Russian anti-fascist student, by swelling the ranks of the picket line today.

DRIVE OUT INVADERS, CAPTORS ASK

(Continued from Page 1)

fore representatives of Nanking and Gen. Chang weer able to meet, it was said.

Gen. Ho was attempting to obtain the release of Gen. Chiang Kai-hek, and of his three aids captured with him, Gen. Yu Hsueh-Chung, Governor of Kansu province, Gen. Chiang Tso-pin, former ambassador to Japan, and Gen. Chang Chen, Chief-of-Staff.

JAPANESE REPORT DISCREDITED

Chiang Kai-Shek's wife was working closely with W. H. Donald, Australian-bor advisor who came to Chiang Kai-Shek from Gen. Chang Hsueh-Liang's entourage, and H. H. Kung, Minister of Finance, to obtain Gen. Chiang's release.

It was reported that Mme. Chiang Kai-Shek was willing to concede cancellation of plans to transfer Chang's Manchurian Army to the South. This was one of the immediate causes of the uprising.

Japanese advisors were said to be hurrying to Sian-fu, where Chiang Kai-Shek is being held, to attempt to rescue their interests.

Chinese officials in Nanking and Peiping place no credence in reports that Chiang had been killed. These reports have been spread mainly by the Domei news agency of Japan.

Marshal Chang radioed to Chinese authorities in Peiping and Nanking that Marshal Chiang was "safe," and it was said that Gen. Ho would therefore call off the attack on Sian-fu, already begun. Nanking officials expect that if the attack continues, showing unwillingness of the part of Nanking to accede to the demands for unity, Chiang Kai-Shek and his aids may meet death.

NO NANKING STATEMENT

No statement was issued by the Nanking government. Officials conferred constantly during the night, as the government crisis, more severe than any since Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the Chinese Revolution in 1927, grew sharper during the day.

A number of military war-lords are reported to have stated their allegiance to Nanking. The aged Governor of Shansi, Marshal Yen Hsi-shan, was in his capital of Taiyuan-fu, where he was said to be in contact with other powerful leaders, including Gen. Han Fu-Chu of Shantung province.

It was reported that Gen. Chang was in contact with leaders of the Chinese Red Army. Gen. Chang's men are known to have been fraternizing for some time with Communists they were sent to fight.

PEIPING, Dec. 13.—Two thousand students, including 300 girls, took over part of Peihei Park late yesterday in a demonstration for a united Chinese people's f r o n t against the Japanese invaders.

The seizure of the park, formerly part of the "Forbidden City" where the Chinese emperors lived of old, followed an attempt to parade during the morning. Police smashed the ranks of the paraders.

At another meeting held on the campus of Tsinghua University, students from that school and Yenching University drew up a formal list of demands. Their demands included rupture of diplomatic relations with Japan, rushing of Gen. Sung Cheh-Yuan's army to aid the drive to oust the Mongol bandit invading army in Suiyuan and Chahar, abolition of the pro-Japanese East Hopei "autonomous" regime of Yin Ju-keng, and, above all, opposition to the Japanese imperialist invader and recovery of Manchuria.

Denjiro Kato, Japanese "Lawrence of Arabia," and first secretary of the Japanese Embassy, later called on Gen. Sung demanding suppression of student agitation in a harshly worded protest.

Chinese Students Pledge Aid to Spain

PEIPING, China, Dec. 13.—"Our aims are the same as yours," Chinese students told the students of Spain in a letter from the National Defense Committee of Students of the University of Tsing Hua.

The Chinese students' committee, which is playing a leading part in rousing sentiment and support for resisting Japan's aggression on China, pledged its moral support to the Union of Spanish Students, with the statement that "although we are so far distant from one another, we both struggle for the same thing: the maintenance of peace and justice in the world. We Chinese students do not confine our efforts only to saving our own fatherland and our own race."

Japanese War Chiefs to Meet

TOKIO, Dec. 13.—The Foreign Office today called a meeting for Tuesday with Army and Navy officials to discuss the new situation in China arising from the capture of Gen. Chiang Kai-shek by the Manchurian troops of Gen. Chang Hsueh-liang.

The semi-official Domei news agency tried to minimize the importance of the events in Shensi Province, calling the moves of Gen.

MARINE STRIKE LEADERS MAP TACTICS TODAY

(Continued from Page 1)

the Copeland Bill, which the seamen regard as a means of effecting a permanent blacklist. The conference will open at 1 p. m.

Bridges, regarded by many as a labor leader second only to John L. Lewis in prestige among workers, will explain the issues of the West Coast maritime strike at the Madison Square rally. Longshoremen and seamen are expected to attend in great numbers. Thousands of other unionists and friends of labor are expected to turn out, since this will be the first time that Bridges, long in the public eye, has agreed to address such a large audience in the East.

Outstanding New York labor leaders will share the speaking platform with Bridges. Among the speakers besides Bridges will be Ben Gold, Furriers Joint Board manager; Louis Weinstock, secretary-treasurer of District Council 9 of the Painters Union; Charles Zimmerman, manager of Local 22 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; and Representative Vito Marcantonio, counsel for the striking seamen.

Heywood Broun, president of the American Newspaper Guild, the Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., of Harlem and Francis J. Gorman, vice president of the United Textile Workers of America, have also been invited.

A RACE FOR $100,000; YOU TOO CAN HELP

(Continued from Page 1)

dividuals have already enrolled in the drive. But more must come in, more contributions must be raised to enable us to carry on as well as complete the $100,000 campaign.

Here are a number of ways in which you, individually or through your organization, can help raise funds for the Daily and Sunday Worker:

1—Arrange house parties for the benefit of the Daily and Sunday Worker. You can have a dime-a-dance affair, sell sandwiches or other refreshments on which you make some money, or take collections for the papers.

2—Organizations can take a theatre—such a play for instance as "200 Were Chosen"—for a Daily and Sunday Worker benefit, selling the tickets to members and friends.

3—Canvass the merchants in your neighborhood for donations.

4—Ask your friends to contribute.

5—Save all the pennies or nickels you get during the day for a while in a little savings bank or box, and then send in the money to the Daily and Sunday Worker.

6—Give a Christmas gift to your papers.

Maybe you have other ideas. Carry them out and also write us about them so we can tell our other readers about them?

But the main thing is—get busy right now. Send in your contribution now.

ASK MAYOR ACT ON ERB STATUS

(Continued from Page 1)

the legal controversy before Dec. 30 and that ERB workers are now being made to suffer because of a dispute between two city departments, Mr. Flaxer requested that the Mayor bring about a postponement of the Dec. 30 examination.

ERB workers voted 8 to 1 for strike action in a referendum of union and non-union employes conducted on Nov. 10, the day after Commissioner Finegan announced they would have to take open competitive examinations to hold their jobs after July 1. The referendum ballots contained the provision that "strike action is to be taken only after all other means fail."

Referring to the fact that only Mayor LaGuardia could now intervene to avert the strike, Mr. Flaxer said:

"The Mayor knows what can be done to avert a strike but for some unknown and incomprehensible reason has declined to give the ERB workers a proper hearing or take a decisive stand on our request for a postponement of the Dec. 30 competitive examination."

BUHL WORKERS WIN RAISES

(Daily Worker Michigan Bureau)

DETROIT, Mich., Dec. 13.— Partial demands including a five cent per hour wage increase were won by the 400 workers in the Buhl Stamping Co., after a half-hour sit-down strike Friday.

The action by the workers was taken after demands to the management for an increase in pay and betterment of working conditions was turned down. Immediately a spontaneous stoppage of work took place and at 12:30 the management met with a committee from the plant and granted three out of four demands.

The company, which manufactures metal stampings used in the automobile industry, was forced to grant a five cent an hour blanket increase in pay, the elimination of the group system of work and an agreement not to discriminate against workers for union activity. The workers also asked an 8-hour day and time and a half for overtime. Negotiations will open tomorrow evening for settlement of these issues.

DETROIT WHEEL WORKERS WIN IN SIT-DOWN

(Continued from Page 1)

night-shift workers to give them the news and sign them up in the union. More than a thousand Kelsey-Hayes workers joined the union.

The sit-down at Kelsey Hayes

The sitdown at Kelsey-Hayes in the brake assembly department of the McGraw plant, where 3,000 workers are employed. It spread quickly as well to the Military Street plant, where 2,000 are employed.

CALL UNION CHIEF

The management called in Walter Reuther, president of Local 174, United Auto Workers. It was agreed that the strikers were to leave the plant but were all to be re-admitted in the morning, while a committee of seven representatives of the union were to meet at 9 A.M. with the company officials and continue negotiations.

The day shift went in the next morning at 7 A.M. When the union committee appeared at the offices, the company officials refused to see them. Immediately the sit-down strike of the day before was re-enacted. The new sit-down started in the militant Dept. No. 49 (brake assembly) in the McGraw plant, and soon spread to Departments 50, 41 and 43, and in short while more than 700 of the 900 workers in the day shift were "sitting-down."

The same scene was also re-enacted at the Military Street plant, where 900 of the 1,000 on the day shift stopped work as soon as word spread around about the company's refusal to negotiate.

Finally, company officials agreed to a conference and the workers in both plants voted to continue the sit-down until their committee was heard from. Meanwhile, workers of the afternoon shift, who were on the outside, held an overflow mass meeting at Slovak Hall, nearby, and expressed their complete solidarity with the morning shift workers inside the plant.

Central Committee Plenum of the Communist Party

Browder's Report on the Election Results and the Tasks Ahead

The Daily Worker prints herewith the complete text of the report presented by Earl Browder, general secretary, on Dec. 4 to the recent plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A.

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Comrades:

Two features today typify the world situation and give point to all of the life and death issues facing the people of all lands. One is the situation in Spain, where the concentrated forces of world fascism wage their desperate and bloody war of extermination against democracy, against an embattled people heroically laying down their lives to defend the principles of self-government and progress. The other feature is the Congress of Soviets which has just had presented to it the new Stalinist Constitution representing the high mark of human progress throughout all history. We see Soviet democracy reaching into the daily life of 170,000,000 people, firmly buttressed in a socialist economy which for the first time translates the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness into terms of the guaranteed right to work, to education and to leisure for every citizen.

The world is divided more openly and consciously than at any previous time into two camps, with the prospect of a new world war more immediate and menacing than would ever have been thought possible before without general hostilities. This is universally recognized. Our reactionary capitalist newspapers are explaining to us that this is the division of the world between Communism and Fascism, and they call for a new camp, presumably to be composed of the Americas, opposed to the two sides that divide Europe and the other continents. But this slogan that the issue is Communism or Fascism, varied at times to Socialism or Fascism, or Marxism or Fascism, hides the most essential fact. The fascist nations rally to their active support the most reactionary circles within all the non-Fascist countries and prepare civil war therein, while the Soviet Union, the land of socialism, led by the Communist Party, rallies all the anti-fascist, peace-loving nations and all progressive circles in all lands to the defense of democracy, progress and peace.

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All countries outside the Soviet Union are fields of bitter struggle for dominance between the forces of democracy and fascism. In Germany, Italy, Japan and their satellites, reaction and fascism are ascendant and carry on civil war against the people through the government. They are rapidly extending their domestic aggression across frontiers to other lands; Italy in Ethiopia, Japan in China, Germany and Italy in Spain. They are driving toward a world war for imperialist conquest and against the democratic rights of the peoples of the world and their national independence.

In France the rise of the People's Front halted fascism at home and threw French governmental influence on the side of peace and progress, although the serious hesitations of the Blum government became constantly more dangerous. French fascism was stopped but not routed and threatens to make a new offensive.

In Britain a reactionary administration, playing with sympathy to the fascist offensive, is able to continue such policies through democratic forms, despite the anti-fascist tendencies of the British population, due to the ineptness of the Labor Party leadership and its failure to fight for a consistent peace policy. The first decisive struggles to determine the predominant position in the international line-up are now maturing. I must mention that great item of international news which every day occupies from five to ten pages in the daily newspapers, the constitutional crisis in Great Britain. I hope you will pardon me if I do not go into the details of the love affairs of King Edward. But it is of the utmost importance when we see the greatest empire of the world, on the territories of which the sun never sets, shaken by the affairs of the heart of two people. British imperialism boasted of its solidity, its unshakableness and indeed had impressed all of us with the absence after long years of crisis of serious inner disturbances. British imperialism until a few years ago boasted that it did not even need to arm its police to keep its starving workers in perfect order. But today the British Empire is shaken by the love affair of its King. Of course all of this romantic nonsense which the masses are fed covers something very real, very significant and very dangerous for the world situation. All of this is the development to the rapidly approaching struggles in Britain to decide which side England is going to be on in the next world war. And the fact that the struggle around the King has become so sharp and shaken the whole empire should prove to us, if it doesn't to those who read the news stories, that this affair is not about the domestic arrangements of Edward VIII, but about the disposition of guns and ships and airplanes, and the destiny of the peoples of the British Empire.

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Now let us turn to the conference of the American republics now going on in Buenos Aires. It shows how sharply the whole world now feels the coming war and begins to take up an attitude toward the basic issues. The speech made by Secretary of State Hull, at the Inter-American Peace Conference, is of great significance. It was a contribution to the mobilization of the anti-fascist forces of the world in the struggle against war, for the maintenance of peace, not only in the Americas, but everywhere. With the fascists on the offensive everywhere, with these fascist forces growing bolder and becoming very arrogant in some of the South American republics represented in Buenos Aires, it is no small thing when the bourgeois spokesman for the American government makes an appeal to the peoples of the world to organize people's peace movements to control their governments.

On this first plank of Secretary Hull we can declare our complete agreement. And we can welcome such a call which will be heard and listened to by the peoples of every country where they are not absolutely cut off by fascist dictatorship. Even there it will penetrate and find a response. There are, of course, points in Secretary Hull's program where we will have to register some differences of opinion as when he puts forward the plank of American neutrality as the key to peace. We know the falseness of neutrality. We know how it has played into the hands of the war makers in America and throughout the world. But even on this point we have to note some progress in the direction of a real peace policy in Hull's speech. The neutrality that he put forward is not the simple neutrality of the past, of withdrawal from world affairs, of isolation. It begins to have a new content, not clearly defined as yet, but containing within it the possibilities of developments toward an active peace policy for America which will strengthen the peace forces throughout the world.

The program as laid down by Secretary Hull is very tentative and is not yet crystallized. As it becomes crystallized, we will of course find many points in which we have to distinguish our position very sharply. But the main significance of this speech is that America is more and more emerging as the greatest power of the capitalist world on the side of peace, and against the fascist war makers, and that in this position there is already an appeal to the masses of the people for organized support, not only governmental support, but mass support in every country to the struggle for peace.

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The tremendous world significance of the present struggle in Spain arises from its position as focus point for the whole world struggle. Fascism had counted Spain as one of its conquests. The democratic victory of the establishment of a Spanish Republic was thought to have been smashed and subverted from within due to the disunity of the democratic forces. But the call for the People's Front to defeat fascism issued by the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International was greeted with mass response in Spain, second only, if not equal, to that in France. The fascists were overwhelmingly defeated in the Spanish elections of February, 1936. The People's Front was victorious and established itself in control of the government. Fascism had lost Spain. It launched the murderous uprising against Spanish democracy in July, with the inspiration and support of Hitler and Mussolini, as a desperate attempt to recover its lost position. The international fascist intervention in Spain is the first point of the general world war being prepared by fascism against democracy everywhere.

The chief task of the day for all of progressive humanity is the support of Spanish democracy. In Spain, while we are meeting, we see new victories for the People's Front forces and at the same time we get the news of the landing of large scale armies of invasion from Germany and Italy. I don't think I have to emphasize to this meeting the significance of this, what it means for our tasks in carrying out the campaign in support of Spain, everywhere in America. We cannot permit the invasion of fascist forces in Spain to throw the tide of battle against Spanish democracy. More than ever now, we must bring international assistance for the Spanish people in every form, and America is one of the places that has to stand in the front ranks of this solidarity action for Spain.

There are a few Americans who are now in the fighting lines in and around Madrid and in the air forces there, and in the machine shops that are keeping the machinery of war going for the People's Front. Many more are eager to go and they should be encouraged and assisted. We must understand that in the struggle for support of Spain we can now reach out into the ranks of every circle in America which has any firm democratic convictions. There are many people ready to fight for democracy and to go to Spain today. As Communists we urge them to do so and fight for the cause of all humanity.

It is on this world stage, the setting of which is characterized chiefly by Spain, with the Soviet Union completing its own democratic achievements while leading the world forces in support of Spanish democracy, with the fascist governments ever more openly subsidizing and supporting fascist intervention, with all the world forced to align itself on one side or the other openly or tacitly; it is on this world stage that we must evaluate the recently concluded elections and must mark out the next steps in the struggle for democracy, progress and peace in the United States.

At Microphone During Election Campaign

EARL BROWDER is shown above at the microphone in one of his speeches to the nation in the past election campaign.

I. The Defeat of Reaction in the November Elections

At the Ninth Convention of our Party in June, in charting our course for the elections, we established that, first, the Republican Party represented nationally the point of concentration of the most reactionary forces in America, moving toward fascism and war. The task was to defeat this threat at all costs. Secondly, Roosevelt, heading the Democratic Party, stood for a middle of the road course. The support of the organized labor and progressive movement went to Roosevelt, as the practical alternative to aggressive reaction. Our tasks became to teach this progressive and labor movement not to rely upon Roosevelt, to secure independent political organization and action, to win all possible concessions from Roosevelt while using this campaign to prepare its future complete independence in a Farmer-Labor Party. Thirdly, the Communist Party, necessarily conducting an independent campaign, was the most active, loyal and clearheaded leader of the whole camp of labor, progress and peace. Its special task, while influencing the broadest masses and the practical electoral decisions, was to maintain its role independent of the capitalist parties, and extend widely its roots of sympathetic connection with the masses of workers, farmers and lower middle classes and their organizations.

These three objectives represent a specific American application of the strategy of the People's Front, formulated on a world scale at the Seventh World Congress. You will recall that we in America also helped prepare that Congress decision by our movement for the Labor Party in 1935. I want to recall to you a statement of Comrade Dimitroff in his report to the Seventh World Congress, where he said:

"And what would the success of fascism in the United States entail? For the toiling masses it would, of course, entail the unrestrained strengthening of the regime of exploitation and the destruction of the working class movement. And what would be the international significance of this success of fascism? As we know, the United States is not Hungary, or Finland, or Bulgaria, or Latvia. The success of fascism in the United States would change the whole international situation quite materially."

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Comrade Dimitroff, after thus evaluating what fascism in the United States would mean to the entire world, in another place went on to expose the source of incipient fascism in the United States:

"One must be indeed a confirmed addict of the use of hackneyed schemes not to see that the most reactionary circles of American finance capital, which are attacking Roosevelt, represent first and foremost the very force which is stimulating and organizing the fascist movement in the United States. Not to see the beginnings of real fascism in the United States behind the hypocritical outpouring of these circles 'in defense of the democratic rights of the American citizen' is tantamount to misleading the working class in the struggle against its worst enemy."

This warning was directed against such people as the leaders of the Socialist Party and their policies. They failed to realize the significance of this fascist danger, and hence, in the elections, found themselves cut off from the masses and headed for a harmful sectarian isolation.

We learned in this election campaign what deep truth there was in these statements by Comrade Dimitroff. After the Seventh Congress we said that the far-reaching and world-shaping consequences in the People's Front strategy would become clear only as they unfolded in the life of the people of the world. We called for a continued and sustained study of the Seventh Congress decisions and their consequences. The victories of the People's Front in France and Spain confirmed this estimate. Now we must add that the elections in the United States in their own and different way also confirmed the correctness of the Seventh Congress decisions.

The best possible confirmation of the correctness of a strategy is its successful execution, and the realization of the expected results. To what degree did the masses of the people achieve the objectives we set for the election:

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The first objective was the defeat of Landon: This was accomplished to a degree far surpassing all expectations. There was a crushing rebuke to the Republican Party such as no major party had experienced in generations. It must be clear that the more overwhelming the defeat of the Landon camp, the more did we achieve our political objective which was more than merely keeping Landon out of office. It was to discredit and drive out of public life all who stood on such a platform before the American people. This aim we shared with the largest number of people, which proved to be the great majority of the population. Without exaggerating our role in bringing about this result, we can safely say that the weight of each individual Communist in the struggle was far higher, many fold, than that of the members of any other political group in America.

The second objective was to make the campaign and the re-election of Roosevelt serve also to prepare and strengthen the forces of the Farmer-Labor Party and the People's Front. This aim was achieved in varying degree in the various parts of the country, with some advances almost everywhere. We Communists, by our policy and activity, helped bring about these advances in every case, in many instances in a most significant degree. Outstanding examples of these are: (a) the smashing victory of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party not only over the Republicans, but also over the Democrats where their candidates stayed in the race; (b) the victory of the Wisconsin Progressive Party, and, more important, the strengthened position within it of the Farmer-Labor Progressive Association, with the appearance of Communists and definite left wingers among the elected officials; (c) the electoral successes of the Washington Commonwealth Federation, a people's front movement just emerging out of the Democratic Party, moving toward a Farmer-Labor Party; (d) the united political action movement in California which united the EPIC movement with labor and left-wing organizations, and which maintained the positions in State Legislature and Congress originally won in 1934; (e) the American Labor Party in New York, which, notwithstanding serious weaknesses and shortcomings, advanced the people's front and gathered more than one-quarter million votes under its own banner, giving its support to Roosevelt not through the Democratic Party; (f) Labor's Non-Partisan League, although only a beginning and very timid step forward to independent political action, represented distinct progress over the traditional A. F. of L. attitude, and was a step in the direction of a Farmer-Labor Party. In these examples and in other mass movements of perhaps less significance we find some indication of the general advance that was achieved in the election campaign toward building the foundation of a people's front.

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We have no reason to exaggerate these achievements, beyond their true proportions. They are limited and full of weaknesses. Yet they are of enormous importance as representative of those movements toward the people's front, the further development of which gives the only hope of preventing reaction and fascism from seizing America. The problem of further extending, developing and uniting this movement on a national scale is the central problem of the day.

On the third objective, that of building the Party, we should note that even by the narrowest standard of measurement, the vote for the Communist ticket, which circumstances this year removed from all direct relation to the scope of our influence, shows considerable growth except on the Presidential ticket, which will probably show a slight decline. An example of this is the growth of the vote in New York City to 65,000 for the general ticket, topping the Socialist vote of 60,000 for the first time. That there was a distinct advance of Communist Party influence has been generally admitted.

We must come to the conclusion, therefore, that life itself, and the results of the struggle, have given proof of the full correctness of our Party's strategy, a strategy which brought us fully into the main stream of American political life and made our small Party a significant factor not merely for ourselves but for the whole country.

Our Party's significant role was made possible by our understanding of the deep class currents in American politics. When we speak of our Party's achievements, we by no means conceive of them as exploits of wonder-workers who sucked these results out of their own thumbs. Our Party's role was important because we knew the currents among the masses. We placed ourselves in a position, not merely to ride these currents, but to co-operate with them and increasingly to guide them. It was the movement of the masses which was the force that changed the whole face of American politics.

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Let us try to get a closer idea of the nature of the change in the political structure of the parties that took place, making the Republican and Democratic parties something different from what they were before. For generations the two-party system of American capitalism was based upon a regionalism that roughly corresponded to basic economic groups. These were the industrial banking North; the cotton-tobacco South; the wheat-dairy-livestock-mining West. The party struggle was largely between the bourgeoisie of these three regions for their special interests. They brought forward such issues in addition as were considered necessary to undermine the mass following of the rival group, or to whip up their own supporters to greater enthusiasm. With Republicans as the Party of Northern capitalism, and Democrats that of the special agrarianism of the South, the basic problem of their conflict was always which of them would win the allegiance of the West. This regionalism was accentuated by the federal system of governmental structure, with its 48 sovereign states. The basic class antagonisms rarely broke through this superstructure to find any clear expression in the parties and issues in national politics.

If this traditional structure of the two-party system had remained intact, there is little doubt that the Literary Digest straw ballot would have been as prophetic in 1936 as it had been in four previous Presidential elections. The Literary Digest came to disaster because it overlooked one little fact; the dominant line of political groupings was no longer the vertical one of regionalism, but the horizontal one of class stratification. Because their sample votes were taken overwhelmingly among the upper classes —automobile owners and telephone subscribers —they reflected the general current of these classes toward Landon and the Republicans, but overlooked the contrary current among the poorer strata in the opposite direction.

Class groupings came forward as the decisive factor in the 1936 elections, sweeping over and submerging the old regional traditions and interests. That is one of the chief reasons for Roosevelt's sweeping majority. The speed with which this took place, its extent which left out only Maine and Vermont (the stagnant extreme Northeast), its volume with a majority of 11,000,000—all these indicate that this change is not accidental or temporary, but a permanent new direction of American political life.

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This re-grouping on class lines came to the fore on the initiative taken by the big monopolists, in the organization of the notorious Liberty League, and the subsequent mobilization of the American Bankers' Association, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Manufacturers' Association, and all similar bodies under the direct control of Wall Street. Their policy was directed toward shelving Roosevelt and his policies in favor of the Republican candidate—any Republican, they thought, could be elected by them. They were even agreed, as their reactionary literary servant, Mencken, expressed it, that a Chinaman could beat Roosevelt with all that money-power behind him. But the masses, although stirring with discontent against Roosevelt's policies, took fright at this unprecedented concentration of all their most pitiless exploiters, and rallied around Roosevelt to defeat Wall Street. When the fascist Hearst added his voice to that hymn of hate the issue became quite definite for the masses. Roosevelt's victory was won for him in the first place by the character of his enemies. Their campaign of hatred was his greatest political asset, as he himself recognized in his Madison Square Garden speech.

Equally significant was the negative influence of the daily newspapers in the elections. The big majority of them actively supported Landon, estimates running from 65 per cent to 85 per cent. The remainder, with few exceptions, were lukewarm in their support and full of reservations. The more the newspapers turned against Roosevelt, the more the masses turned toward him. They had learned that newspapers represented and spoke for their worst enemies and oppressors.

The unprecedented "red scare" that was staged against Roosevelt also strengthened the sentiment of the masses in his favor. Of course, no one could seriously credit the cries of "Communist," "revolution," "Moscow," "red flag," and so on, that filled the air for weeks. When for a full week the newspapers debated whether it was really true that the Communists asked their followers to vote for Roosevelt, they succeeded in doing more than diverting a few hundred thousand votes away from us in his direction. They also convinced millions, already alarmed, that this typical Hitler-Hearst trick stamped the dominant features of the Landon camp as fascist. Thus the great mass of anti-fascist sentiment was directed to Roosevelt. The defeat of almost every red-baiting candidate in the election, was one of its major features. Red-baiters lost out no matter what group they operated within. Another typical trait of the Landon campaign which confirmed mass opinion of its fascist direction was its demagogic and contradictory promises of all things to all men.

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Roosevelt also gathered to his support the mass peace sentiments prevalent among the people. Without putting forward any definite peace program, he could still shine in comparison with Landon, whose jingoist tendencies were emphasized by the support of the munition lords and war mongers generally for his candidacy.

Another boomerang for Landon was the Republican attack upon the weaknesses of the Social Security Act, and the attempt to enter into competition with Roosevelt in promises. The result was to press Roosevelt into making his Madison Square Garden speech with his pledge for shorter hours, higher wages, an end to sweatshops and child labor, collective bargaining through trade unions, and his slogan that "for all these things we have only just begun to fight." These promises aroused the enthusiasm and support of the workers, where Roosevelt's record during his first term had left them cold or indifferent. Again the Roosevelt majority was swelled and given even more the character of a class line-up, of a crusade against Wall Street and reaction.

The election results discredited and drove from public life, at least temporarily, the Fascist radio priest, Father Coughlin. For a time the Union Party looked formidable, when it promised to unite the agrarian following of Lemke, the old-age pension movement of Dr. Townsend, the followers of the radio priest, Father Coughlin, and the remnants of the Huey Long Share-the-Wealth movement under Rev. Gerald K. Smith. For a short while it succeeded in penetrating state-wide Farmer-Labor Parties in Iowa and Michigan, and even seriously threatened to influence the successful Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota.

Only the determined and relentless campaign of exposure and opposition led and organized in the first place by the Communists, smashed the influence of Lemke and Coughlin in one after another of their strongholds and finally brought them to an inglorious collapse, completely isolating them from the Farmer-Labor movement. They received only a fraction of their expected vote. The Union Party fully justified our judgment of it, as the vanguard for the reactionary campaign, laying the ground for more reactionary slogans, as when Father Coughlin raised the issue of bullets to overthrow a possible "dictatorship" of Roosevelt. Its collapse was of the same general political significance as that of the Republican Party, of which it was an auxiliary.

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Negative proof of the correctness of the course of the Communist Party is given by the debacle of the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party took a diametrically opposite course to our line on every tactic. Demoralized by the bankruptcy of opportunist Social Democracy in Europe, the Socialist Party still rejected the proposals of the Communist Party for a united front, came out in principle against the People's Front in America and advocated its liquidation in France and Spain. It tried to find a new course, by submitting to the poisonous influence of Trotskyism and by amalgamating with the Trotskyites. The Socialist Party opposed and tried to disrupt the Farmer-Labor Parties in the various states, it denounced Labor's Non-Partisan League, it declared that the only issue of importance was the immediate transition to socialism, but for this left-sounding slogan gave a most reformist interpretation. By this course the Socialist Party played into the hands of its right-wing elements and came to an unprincipled split with its local organizations, which had somewhat of a mass base in Connecticut and Pennsylvania; it split with the New York Old Guard which had trade union connections; and only saved a split in Wisconsin by making that state an "exception" which resulted in the practical liquidation of the Socialist Party into the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation. Its course brought about the public resignation from the Socialist Party of many members prominent in trade union work and the withdrawal of others from practical politics, both of right and left tendencies. Its whole campaign was a frantic grasping for votes for itself at all costs, but it failed of this aim more completely than ever in its history. The total vote will be only 20 per cent of that of four years ago and less than half of the Socialist Party vote in 1900, when it made its first national campaign.

The Socialist Party is, as a result of its sectarian course, its opportunist and inept campaign, now in a deep crisis, with its lower organizations ravaged by the bitter factional struggle for complete control being waged by the Trotskyites. We must offer to all sincere Socialists our sympathetic help in solving their difficult problems.

II. What Follows After the Roosevelt Victory

Now, let us pass on to a consideration of what follows after the Roosevelt victory. The balloting on Nov. 3 could be called "the great repudiation." The large majority of people were first of all voting against Hearst, against the Liberty League, against Wall Street, against Landon, against reaction, fascism and jingoism. That is the first and most important significance of the elections. It was a smashing defeat for reaction. But, though defeated, the forces of reaction were not routed. They are re-forming their lines for new attacks, preparing new methods to gain the same ends they sought in the election. Forced to drop their plans to challenge the validity of the election, which they clearly had in mind in expectation of a close vote, the reactionaries, faced with a tremendous majority for Roosevelt, suddenly turned an about face and began to make love to Roosevelt. Hearst, who the day before election denounced him in the same terms as he does the Communists, against whom he incites lynch law, suddenly found in Roosevelt the qualities of an Andrew Jackson of the 20th century.

If Roosevelt wants support from them, the reactionaries tell the world, he can get all he wants, for a "sane" policy that will curb the "wild men" who got into Congress in the landslide, in far too large numbers for reactionary comfort. The defeated reactionaries hoped to recoup their fortunes through the Democratic right-wing, through influencing Roosevelt, through splitting the Democratic Party, and through the Supreme Court.

The Communist Party sees in the overwhelming defeat of reaction in the elections a great opportunity for the forces of the people's front to move forward, for labor to achieve some of its demands, for all of the oppressed to win improvements in their situation. But this cannot be done if we sit and wait for someone to bring things to us on a platter. It will not happen if the masses rely upon Roosevelt. Progress can only come if we use the opportunity for organization and struggle on a broader and more determined line than ever before.

Evidence that millions of workers understand this point is to be seen in the rising movement in various industries, in marine, steel, clothing, textile and others. These workers knew that now is the favorable time to gain demands, but that without organization and struggle nothing will happen. There is a mounting mood of confidence and readiness to struggle. This is the mood that must be roused, stimulated and organized to drive the whole movement forward for the people's front.

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Of course, the Democratic Party leaders and

(Continued on Page 4)

Central Committee Plenum of the Communist Party

Browder's Report on the Election Results and the Tasks Ahead

(Continued from Page 3)

Roosevelt want nothing of the kind. They want everyone to be quiet and wait for whatever the new Congress will bring them. The Democratic Party wants to restore good relations with its extreme right-wing and with the reactionaries generally and still continue to absorb all Farmer-Labor Party sentiment and prevent its crystallization.

The A. F. of L. Executive Council, instead of leading the labor movement forward, pulls back and condemns even such hesitant efforts as Labor's Non-Partisan League and the C. I. O.'s steel drive. It is ready to split the whole labor movement rather than permit progress.

The C. I. O. unions, while moving forward for industrial organization, are marking time politically, waiting for new developments instead of helping bring them about. The statement of Labor's Non-Partisan League after the elections sounded only the call to be alert and to be ready for a possible realignment in 1940, but there was not a word about helping create this realignment. We can by no means agree with this passive attitude but must point out that it is an obstacle to progress.

The employing class is naturally aware of the mounting spirit for struggle of the masses and they are trying to head it off. That is the significance of the large number of voluntary pay increases that have been announced since the elections.

Only the organization and struggle of the masses, independent of capitalist parties and politicians, will realize their demands and expectations, through Congress and outside of Congress, and prepare the way for greater concessions later on.

True, the masses have "great expectations," as the New York Times expressed it, as a result of the defeat of reaction. They believed in the promises made to them. They expect higher wages and lower hours, with protection of the right of collective bargaining and trade union organization. They expect adequate relief and public works to care for the eleven million unemployed; and they are in the mood for sharp struggle to achieve these. They expect the improvement of the old-age pensions and social security law, and their extension to the whole population. They expect the wiping out of sweat-shops and child labor. The Negroes expect some of the equality that Ickes talked to them about. The farmers expect more relief from their burdens. The young people expect further help from the government. The masses expect a curb to be placed on the usurped powers of the Supreme Court. They expect the United States to take an active part in preserving peace in the world. They expect greater civil liberties.

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All of these great expectations constitute the mandate given to Roosevelt by the overwhelming majority of his 27 million supporters. It is these great expectations which must be transformed into the moving force for the creation of the people's front and the independent struggle and organization to realize these things.

The crushing defeat of the Republicans hastened the disintegration of the old two-party system. It brought closer the growing split of the Democratic Party, the party which united progressive and reactionary elements in the election, elements which cannot long continue in the same party. It strengthened all the progressive tendencies among the voting population. All these things improve and broaden the prospects for the building of the People's Front. We can say that these prospects are much better than ever before.

But at the same time, while improving and broadening the prospects for a national Farmer-Labor Party, this very progress brings about a temporary delay in the organizational unity of all these forces in a definite national organization. Now more than ever there is a fear among many progressives of prematurely forming such a party and thereby narrowing it down, leaving behind and outside serious forces which can be brought in a little later or in a different form.

We want to hasten the formation of a national Farmer-Labor Party as much as possible. It was the absence of such a party in the last elections which seriously held back the growth of labor's power. Even the national application of the tactic of the American Labor Party in New York would have been a great advance. The closest thing we got to a national concentration of the Farmer-Labor Party forces was the valuable but very limited Chicago Conference of May 30. This produced no effective organization but only a platform. The Chicago platform alone, however, by its stimulating effect on all local movements, proved the tremendous role that can and will be played by a really effective national united front of all the progressive movements and organizations. That is what we have in mind when we call for a national Farmer-Labor Party.

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We must soberly estimate, however, the moods and trends among the broad progressive ranks. We must find the way to unite the movements already outside of and independent of the Democratic Party and Progressive Republicans together with those that are still maturing within the old parties, and not yet ready for full independence. This means that we must conceive of the people's front on a broader scale than merely the existing Farmer-Labor Party organizations. We must conceive of it on a scale that will unite the forces in the Farmer-Labor Party and other progressives together with those forces crystallized in some form or other but not yet independent of the old parties.

Our experience in Washington and California confirms the correctness of this judgment. There is not the slightest doubt that we were correct in establishing the united front of these movements which were not yet independent of the Democratic Party. The struggle to realize the mandate of the elections will still further broaden and crystallize those progressive movements. We cannot, like Norman Thomas, wash our hands of these growing movements and demand that they spring forth overnight fully grown and mature, before we will recognize and work with them. We must be ready to help them through birth-pangs and nurture them through all the difficulties of infancy.

There cannot be a blue-print which will answer by formula how the people's front is to develop uniformly throughout the country. We must study the real forces at work among the people and their relations concretely, and find a way acceptable to these progressive forces which will unite them on a state scale, and later nationally. This broader unity will have to, for a time, at least, include in most places forces outside and inside of the two old parties. This is a necessity at present for the development of the Farmer-Labor Party on a broad mass basis.

JAMES W. FORD, Communist Party leader and head of the Party's Harlem Division, was Browder's running mate in the recent elections.

More than ever now, we must emphasize that in the people's front, and in the existing Farmer-Labor Parties which already realize in part the people'e front, we are not trying to obtain a camouflage for the Socialist and Communist Parties. In the people's front we must at all costs include non-socialist progressives who will for a longer or shorter time be the overwhelming majority. Our aim in the people's front is to organize the majority of the people in the shortest possible time, against the worst reactionaries and exploiters, and get the maximum possible control of the government in the hands of this progressive majority. And we must say that the results of the election showed, more than we ever saw before, the possibility of achieving this.

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Roosevelt and his close supporters, of course, want to create the impression that the people already have achieved this goal through his re-election. This illusion if not fought against can become an obstacle to the further growth of the people's front. It will be fully dispersed only in the course of struggle, in independent struggle on the economic and political field to realize the great expectations of the workers; first of all in the industries, in the fight for wages, hours and unionization, and second in the legislative assemblies of the states and the national congress in the fight for social and labor legislation.

We do not need to waste time, as some people do, in speculations as to whether Roosevelt will turn right or left, although our prediction of a right turn by Roosevelt as expressed before election is being realized in the administration's relief policy today. From past experience we know that his course will be determined in its major aspects entirely by the course of the road. Roosevelt always tries to find the middle of the road. If the road turns right he turns right. If the road turns left, he will turn left. The road of national life will be determined not by Roosevelt's mind or tendency, but by the relationship of forces, by the independent struggle of the masses in the economic and political fields. A strong and successful movement to organize the mass production industries will change the course of Government and of Roosevelt to the left more than all the persuasive arguments in the world.

Likewise, we need not be afraid that the workers and farmers will win too much through Roosevelt and will thus dull their appetite for more and make them conservative. We must encourage the masses to win everything possible through the election victory of Roosevelt, showing them that this can only be done through organization and struggle, and through political independence from Roosevelt. We can be quite sure that every gain under these conditions will only sharpen their appetite for more, while having increased their knowledge and their power to gain more.

Neither do we need to speculate on the question as to whether on a national scale the people's front will be realized only in the form of a Farmer-Labor Party, or through its combination with other forms of organization and struggle of the masses. It is sufficient at this moment to take note of the necessity in many states to work for a time at least also through broader and less definitely crystallized forms than the Farmer-Labor Party. What will finally come out on a national scale will to a large degree be determined by the relation of forces within the Roosevelt following, between reactionary and progressive trends and forces. A split in that following is sure to come, but its form on a national scale is still impossible to predict with certainty. In this struggle we will also participate, and we will have many difficult, complicated, and dangerous problems to solve in organizing and influencing the masses in the struggles that take place within the Democratic Party and in some progressive sections of the Republican Party.

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Just a word about the economic prospects after the election. We do not need to take time for any extended economic analysis. It is clear that production and economic activity in almost every industry is definitely continuing upward. Production is approaching pre-crisis levels. But the most important fact is that this still leaves a mass of unemployed in America, variously estimated from 9 to 14 million. This, together with the forces always preparing a new collapse, guarantees that this so-called prosperity will not reach even that relative mass of people that it has in previous periods, and that it will be even shorter in duration, independent of the changes that may be brought about by world political developments such as world war.

The election results strengthened the fight for the unity of the working class and of the trade union movement. This is of central importance, for without the firm leadership and hegemony of the working class which can be exercised only through its unity, the broader people's front cannot be realized.

The fight for working class unity which for us still means the historic task of the organization of the tens of millions of the unorganized workers, and especially the workers in the basic and mass production industries, today confronts us with the special and immediate task of fighting against the spreading of the division in the organized labor movement, of fighting for the re-unification of the American Federation of Labor.

Our Party has throughout the whole of this critical period in the trade union movement thrown its full weight in the fight to maintain the unity of the American Federation of Labor and against the splitting policies of the reactionary leaders of the Executive Council. Now the 56th Convention of the A. F. of L. by its endorsement of the suspensions, has taken a step which increases the threat of a long time split in the trade union movement. We shall redouble our efforts in the fight for trade union unity, for the unity of the American Federation of Labor. The statement of the Central Committee condemning the split, issued immediately after the Tampa Convention had confirmed the suspension of the C.I.O. unions, furnishes the guide for our tasks in this fight.

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We must examine in detail the application of this statement to the specific situation and find very carefully the correct line in the complicated problems that will exist in the many industries and in many trade unions. Again we have to say that there is no formula which automatically gives us an answer to these problems. Only careful study of the concrete situation will enable us to find the correct, the most effective answer in the fight for unity.

But let it be clearly understood that we are not going to be fooled by empty talk about unity. We will always expose, as we have in the past, those who play with the word unity and use it to cover up their reactionary and splitting policies and tactics. There are those who, in the name of unity, would surrender to the reactionaries and compromise or abandon the basic struggle to unite the workers in steel, auto, rubber, chemical, and other mass production industries. Against this false cry of unity, which William Green used so demagogically to demand surrender to reaction at the Tampa Convention, we must unite all progressives in firm solidarity. Practical compromises to adjust the particular claims of particular craft unions to this basic program are, of course, allowable, and no one would think of rejecting them in principle beforehand. But such practical compromises are possible only when the reactionary Executive Council has opened the door for them by abandoning its demand for unconditional surrender of the progressives in their fight for working class unity.

Recently Comrade Dimitroff, in his article on Spain, recalled to our memory the clear firm words of Lenin on unity which are of great value in connection with this problem to the American trade union movement:

"The workers really need unity. And the thing that must be understood above all else is that apart from the workers themselves, no one will 'give' them unity, no one is able to help their unity. Unity must not be 'promised'—this will be an empty boast, self-deception. Unity must not be 'made' out of 'agreement' between little groups of intellectuals—this is an error of the saddest, most naive and ignorant type. Unity must be won, and only by the workers themselves. The conscious workers themselves are capable of achieving this—by stubborn and insistent work.

"Nothing is easier than to write the word 'unity' in letters a yard high, to promise unity, to 'proclaim' ourselves as adherents of unity. But in reality, unity can only be advanced by work and the organization of the progressive workers, of all conscious workers. . . ."

"This is not so easy. It requires work, insistence, the rallying together of all conscious workers. But without work, the unity of the workers is out of the question."

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So Lenin spoke some twenty years ago about unity, on the eve of the World War. And it is in this spirit that we today fight for working class unity, for the unity of the American Federation of Labor. The fight for genuine trade union unity is a fight for the triumph within the labor movement of the principles enunciated and supported in action by the Committee for Industrial Organization. The establishment of this principle is an absolute necessity for the further growth, for the very existence finally, of the trade union movement. It is a necessary condition for the preservation of democracy in the United States, for the salvation of our country from reaction, fascism and war. That is why we must say, without the slightest equivocation, that the struggle to realize the principles of the C. I. O. is the first demand upon every progressive as well as every revolutionary worker. It is the struggle for the unity of the working class.

There can be no real working class unity so long as some 30,000,000 workers, of whom some ten million are in the mass production industries, are unorganized. This does not in the least mean that we underestimate the importance and significance of the four million organized workers, the most decisive sections of which are in the unions affiliated to the C. I. O. and in the independent Railroad Brotherhoods.

Can you imagine if we succeeded in the future, and that is our aim, to help organize the entire working class, its decisive sections, in genuine industrial unions, under real progressive labor leadership, how that would change the entire picture of the class relations within the country? What impetus that would give to the independent role of the working class in shaping, formulating and influencing the policies and life of all the people in our great country? That certainly would be a guarantee that the mandate to Roosevelt in the elections would be fulfilled.

EARL BROWDER is shown above on his arrival on the West Coast during his nation-wide speaking tour during the last election campaign.

III. The Accomplishments and Shortcomings of the Communist Party Election Campaign

We have already evaluated the main accomplishments of the Party in the previous section of the report. We have seen how our Party strategy proved correct by the results, and by the immensely improved position of the Party in relation to all the progressive forces in the country. We are in conflict only with those forces which are holding back the movement; we have increasingly close co-operation with all forces helping to drive the labor movement forward to new strength and achievements; above all we have deepened and broadened our ties with the masses.

Some comrades are still influenced by the idea that the Party vote is the only correct measure of our achievements. To the degree that they are influenced by this idea they are somewhat pessimistic because our vote did not show any great jump forward. These comrades look upon our refusal to go into head-on collision with the progressive labor movement, in sharp competition for votes, like Norman Thomas did, as a sacrifice necessary to assure that Landon would not be elected. Therefore, they ask us why we did not change our position in the last days before election, when it was becoming clear that Roosevelt would be elected. They wonder why we did not swing over to the Thomas tactic of grabbing the utmost possible votes for ourselves at the last minute (even though this failed so signally to win votes for Thomas).

To pose such a question reveals a shallow understanding of our whole strategy and a wrong evaluation of our accomplishments. Let us throw light on this question from another angle. Suppose that our proposals last summer for a National Farmer Labor Party had been adopted by the progressive movement. Then we would have withdrawn our national ticket entirely. But we would have made an equally energetic campaign without getting any separate Communist Party vote at all as a result. Would our doubting comrades still have kept their eyes fixed on the C. P. vote, this time zero, and feared that we had disappeared entirely from the political scene? Of course not. Clearly, it would have been recognised as a much greater victory. However, the urgent need for a united front, which everyone felt, was realized in another and less satisfactory way under such circumstances that we could not fight against it—the united front of the labor and progressive forces around Roosevelt.

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We foresaw, before the campaign opened, that our separate vote would register only our irreducible minimum and not our maximum influence. This was inherent in the situation and our strategy. There is nothing to weep about. We do have to explain away our vote by special local circumstances or special weaknesses on our part. Weaknesses there were aplenty in our campaign but they must not be sought in this question of the relation of our influence and our vote. There is no direct relation between them at all. Not to understand this is to have a very narrow understanding of the whole strategy of the people's front, which is not a mere election tactic but a strategy for a whole period.

Where our strategy was realized in its most satisfactory form—as in Minnesota, we had no state ticket at all, but were among the most effective campaigners for the Farmer-Labor ticket. Does that mean that we were weakened in that state? On the contrary, we made the greatest advance of Communist influence among the masses, precisely there. Equally significant were our advances in Wisconsin which again can in no wise be measured by our separate vote. Even in the very unsatisfactory American Labor Party in New York, with its crude organization from the top alone, there were greater advances of our influence than would have accompanied a situation where the American Labor Party was absent, even though that had meant a higher Communist Party vote. We made greater advances with the lower vote in New York with the American Labor Party in the field than we could have made with a higher vote and the American Labor Party not in existence.

Then, too, we should point out one possible development which was not realized but which might have occurred if the progressive leaders had taken only a part of our advice. Suppose these leaders and their organizations had adopted our proposal for a National Farmer-Labor Party convention, including the Socialists and the Communists. Suppose that this convention had come together and formed a national Farmer-Labor Party with all of us in it, and then decided to place Roosevelt at the head of the ticket nationally, like the American Labor Party did in New York, but followed it up with state Farmer-Labor Party tickets wherever possible. Under such circumstances would the Socialist Party and the Communist Party have accepted the discipline of such a broad national united front of all progressives? Would we have refrained from putting forward our own independent tickets and supported the Farmer-Labor Party ticket even with Roosevelt at the head? I venture to say that under such conditions we would almost surely have done so. The united peoples' front and the cause of Socialism as well would have been advanced much more than by what actually happened in the election campaign.

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One of the greatest accomplishments of our party in this campaign was that it began to learn how, even with small forces, to find its road in the midst of the most complicated political situation—we drove in the center of a national political storm toward a definite goal, without ever losing sight of it, and without allowing our forces to be broken up, dispersed or demoralized, but rather gaining strength and clarity out of it all. This ability is the hallmark of Bolshevism and to the degree that our Party demonstrated this ability, we can say that we are in the process of becoming a real Bolshevik Party.

Can any one, even our worst enemies, deny that the Communist Party played an important role in the campaign; that millions of people thought that what the Communist Party had to say was of serious importance, that millions were influenced in their thinking and their actions by the Communist Party? No one can deny this undisputed fact. Can any one say that we lost our heads at any moment, that we hesitated, or doubted at any point, that our strategical or tactical line was ever blurred or unclear or had to be changed? It is possible to differ with us but it is not possible to say that. Everyone recognized that the Communist Party was an exceptionally effective striking force precisely because of its conviction and clarity, its drive and unity. That is another of the hall marks of Bolshevism.

Can anyone deny that in this campaign the Communist Party broke through and smashed the legend of our enemies that our party is something foreign, imported from abroad, not organically a part of the American political scene? No one can deny that we thoroughly established our Party as an American Party, that our slogan—"Communism is 20th Century Americanism,"—registered deeply with the American people. This was a great achievement. This is also a sign of Bolshevism.

Can anyone deny that in this campaign the Communist Party smashed the conspiracy to outlaw it, to rouse a pogrom spirit in America against the Communists, to drive us out of politics? We forced our Party on the ballot in states that had passed laws designed especially to keep it off. Where, as in Illinois, we were kept off the ballot it was by arbitrary violation of the letter and spirit of the election laws, unreasonable as they were, or as in Florida, where the law now even excludes the Republican Party. When in Terre Haute and Tampa, and against Comrade Ford in Durham and Toledo, mob action was resorted to, this did not rouse the country against us, as the reactionaries hoped, but we turned the attacks into the most effective boomerang whereby we rallied even large sections of the capitalist press to speak in our defense, and won new sympathy from millions who were formerly indifferent to us. Here also is a great achievement.

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Turning to the more technical aspects of the campaign, one can list among our achievements, the effective use, for the first time, of the radio. We reached millions with our message nationally, and in many districts also on a local scale. This must by all means be followed up and made a permanent part of our technique.

Our campaign literature was given a higher political level, more effective and was distributed in far greater quantities than ever before in the history of our Party. While much more could have been done with this task and literature distribution was seriously neglected in many places, yet this still remains one of the strong points of the campaign.

The political rallies organized in the most important cities on a national plan were taken up most seriously by the district organizers and as a rule were models of effective political and organizational work, in which thousands of people participated in a responsible way. Unfortunately these models were not energetically followed everywhere in handling the thousands of lesser meetings, which left much to be desired.

Contrast the growth of the influence of our Party with the catastrophic decline of the Socialist Party, its growing inner crisis and one will at once get the different results of two different policies. The S. P. policy flowed from reformism, sectarianism, influenced by counter-revolutionary Trotskyism; our policy was built on Leninism correctly applied to the present situation.

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Let us now turn attention to some of the most serious weaknesses and shortcomings of the campaign. First of all we must speak of the entirely unsatisfactory state of the recruitment of new members. Our membership grew but there was not an increase in tempo to keep pace with our heightened activity and broadened contacts. Our units, sections and districts were not able to keep this task in the center of their attention. It constantly slipped into the background and was forgotten in favor of the more exciting and spectacular sides of the campaign. Concentrated attention to important industries and localities was also too often forgotten and the Party slipped back too much into the old diffused general approach against which we have struggled for years.

This means that our lower units showed a tendency to drift and become the playthings of spontaneous development instead of taking charge of this development and directing it to a conscious goal. That such a thing could happen proves that the units and sections did not conduct planned work, that they were not the organizational center which directed the activities of the membership toward pre-determined goals. This is precisely the condition that we find upon direct examination of the work of the units and sections. Their work remained too much a matter of routine handed down from above. Their initiative was low, their inner life unattractive and uninteresting; as a result they did not become the centers of radiating energy, the dynamos of the Party. The decisive centers of Party activity down below were too much divorced from the units and sections, and did not find in them their basis and support. In fact they forgot the central task of making the units and sections concentration points and radiating media of all phases of the campaign.

Closely connected with this and flowing out of it is the unsatisfactory quality of much of the local and neighborhood campaigning. There was mechanical repetition of the speeches and formulations of the national spokesmen and national literature, without any effort at independent local application and tying up of national issues with concrete local problems. Further, when local concrete applications were attempted there was too often a lack of care and precision, a sloppiness and carelessness and sometimes even a vulgarization of our policies which was very harmful. Such things could pass uncorrected only because the units and sections were not alert, and were not checking up on the conduct of the campaign, not conducting it as a collective undertaking but as isolated individual efforts. The struggle for a higher quality in all our work from top to bottom is the only answer to these problems.

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In facing and solving the complicated problems of intensive work among the masses, and simultaneously building and strengthening the Party organizations and their role, a clear understanding of the characteristic Bolshevik approach and conception of the Party is required. A large part of our membership is new and unschooled in these problems. It requires constant educational work to transform these members into conscious Bolsheviks—a task still most seriously neglected. Another part of the membership, longer in the Party, has become fixed in old careless bad habits, which have not been weeded out. Some of the local organizations have become careless and loose in their approach to Party organization and its regular functioning on the false grounds that this was what we meant when we warned against overloading the members with work beyond their powers.

Out of a loose and careless approach to the organizational building of the Party, there arises all sorts of political weaknesses and even deviations. There arise again examples of the old discredited theories of "mass work first" at the expense of neglecting the Party, and then the opposite and equally wrong theories of "Party work first" at the expense of neglecting the mass work.

Lenin taught us that true revolutionists never for a moment allow such artificial separation of "Party" and "mass." Mass work without the simultaneous growth and strengthening of the Party is in danger of opportunist liquidation, while Party work divorced from direct and immediate connection with the masses will tend in the direction of sectarian barrenness and degeneration. The constant connection and interrelation between Party and mass work must become the dominant feature of our Party life, in units, sections and districts, if our Party is to exert its maximum influence in directing the millions of American workers and their allies onto the road of the People's Front and eventually to socialism.

That these problems still exist for us is proven by the weakness and shortcomings of the election campaign. It will be necessary to pay critical attention to all these features of our Party life, making use of our election experiences to drive out all looseness and carelessness, and to replace these characteristics by those of responsibility and vigilance throughout the Party.

Summing up this examination of the

(Continued on Page 5)

Central Committee Plenum of the Communist Party

Browder's Report on the Election Results and the Tasks Ahead

(Continued from Page 4)

Party's role in the election campaign, we can say that despite serious weaknesses and shortcomings which must receive sustained and detailed attention at this Central Committee meeting and after, the Party followed a correct and consistent line which improved its position in every respect. Our Party demonstrated a growing political maturity and emerged as an important force in national life. We gained the sympathetic attention of millions and influenced them, and our Party now stands in an excellent situation to face the next tasks, much greater tasks, toward which we must now direct our attention.

IV. The Tasks of the Party and the Mass Struggles Ahead

I divide this section into four groups of problems. First, I shall deal with the problems and tasks of the coming economic struggles of the working class and of building its organizations. That includes the persistent fight for the unity of the working class, for the unity of the trade union movement. Secondly, I shall deal with the next steps in building the People's Front. Thirdly, I shall deal with the tasks in the fight for peace, how to strengthen the existing peace movements, and how to organize the tremendous peace sentiments of the American people. Fourthly, I shall take up the problem of how to better connect ourselves with the economic and political activities of the people, and through a better quality of Communist work, facilitate the building and strengthening of our Party.

To begin with, I shall take up the great Marine Strike which occupies the center of the picture today. This should be some indication to us of what is going to come in many other districts of the country. If one compares this strike with the great strike in the same industry in 1934, one can see on what a higher plane it is this year—how much stronger are the forces of the marine workers, how much more widespread is their influence spreading to the other sections of the labor movement and how they are gaining international support from the French and Mexican longshoremen. That is why Mr. Ryan was in a hurry to adopt a solidarity strike with the employers as a means of combatting the solidarity actions of the workers.

This great battle in marine should become the first point of concentration of all the energies of the Party. Successful results from this struggle seem quite possible, quite within the grasp of the workers today, especially if we rally all possible support to them. They will have an enormous influence in stimulating and hastening the growth of similar movements that are maturing in many other industries all over the country.

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We must not expect the developing strike movement just to come in one great sweep in the next few weeks and spread out all over the country. It will have its periods, its ups and downs, but we can expect some real results in the near future, especially if the reactionary employers carry through their present intention of halting the forward move of labor by open repression. The climax of the present development looks as though it will come about the time when the miners' agreement expires and when the problems in steel will have come to a head.

Those of us whose memories about former struggles are still fresh can remember the lessons of the past strike struggles. Most of the things we wrote in the last four years, still hold good, and we should study them carefully.

The steel drive lagged definitely during the period of the election campaign. Since the elections, it is picking up and gathering headway again, but I think that even with the rising development of the steel campaign, it is necessary to warn against any relaxation of the vigilance and persistence of the workers in organizing a greater drive in steel.

It is necessary also to say that there are still some districts of our Party which have not yet taken up the steel campaign with sufficient seriousness, even though there are important sections of the industry in their territory. We cannot really consider ourselves a serious, revolutionary Party, the vanguard of the working class, if we are not the most energetic and constructive organizers in steel. In any place where the work of the Party among steel workers is being neglected, it shows that the Communists in these territories are keeping the Party on a low political level and preventing the Party from becoming the leading force among the decisive sections of the working class. These comrades are keeping the Party from performing its necessary duties for the working class. This warning holds true for the comrades who work in other basic industrial areas, in textiles, auto, rubber. Other basic industries will soon have, if they do not already have, the problem of an organization campaign.

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In textile we see great struggles developing that promise much greater achievements than those of 1934. The situation today is such, what with the mood of the textile workers, that if all progressives work right and take the job seriously, the workers can make many gains. That is why it is essential for the Communists to work harder in textile, to give better guidance and stand out as the most courageous workers.

In auto we see new struggles and what appears to be a new move of organization which is already talking in terms of new thousands of union members. More important, all of this organizing now begins to appear in the center of the automobile industry and not at its periphery. Due to the concentration of auto in a few centers, with half a million workers, it is a special problem in a few districts and first of all for the Michigan district, which must persistently work among the auto workers and transmit the experiences of these struggles to the working class elsewhere in the country. But, also as marine, steel and textile are national questions for us, so is auto. By the very nature of the auto industry and the concentration of capital there, where the bosses represent the national money power of the country, similarly must we have the national power of the workers mobilized around auto, too.

The next industry that must be especially mentioned is agriculture. The activities there are tremendously encouraging, showing great possibilities. Unfortunately, there is a negative side to the picture, showing in many districts the neglect of this question by us. We can't afford anywhere to neglect the agricultural workers. We can't afford to have gaps in our line in this field. Where work has been done and progress made, it has already been sufficient to prove that it can be done everywhere where serious and intelligent attention is given to it.

The agricultural workers everywhere can play as big a role in building the labor movement and giving it a progressive tendency as they played in the A. F. of L. convention. There they were one of the most significant groups of representatives present. The same role can be played in the whole labor movement and in every locality if it is given correct leadership and daily attention. We are going to demand it of every district. I believe that the Central Committee will agree with this emphasis.

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Now about some details in the struggle for trade union unity and the relations between the CIO and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. We must emphasize what we had in the statement of the Central Committee, what we have repeated for the past nine months: It is necessary to fight to preserve unity below, in the city councils, in the state federations, to prevent the threat of a split from being carried through, to put up organized resistance to the plans of the splitters. Every progressive must emphasize that international unions must not be split by this division. We think that it would be harmful if any unions were divided, one section going to the CIO, the other to the A. F. of L. We believe that it is advisable for the existing unions to act as a body. We ourselves want to do everything we can to align them with the CIO, but under no conditions do we carry that fight on in such a way as to make a split in that union. Of course, we will do everything to prevent the reactionaries from splitting off any section of any union.

It is necessary to emphasize the need of keeping the CIO forces together. We fight against any tendencies among the weak-kneed leaders of some of these unions to abandon the fight and surrender to the reactionary policies of the Executive Council. We emphasize at every point that under no circumstances will we allow any weakening of the work of building the progressive movement inside the reactionary unions, those still dominated by the reactionaries. On the contrary, there must be more systematic work, especially in such organizations as the Carpenters' Union which in A. F. of L. conventions is voted from the vest pocket of Wm. Hutcheson, but which down below has numerous possibilities of progressive organization.

We will face and solve in practical work the special questions that will arise with the creation of new unions in unorganized sections of industry, as to where the workers shall be taken. For example, in the probable organization of some sections of heavy machinery, we will have the problem of whether these new unions shall go into the Machinists or into some of the other unions, whether it be the Amalgamated Association, or what not.

Generally, we have been clear on this last question. We refused to use our forces to carry sections of newly organized workers away from the jurisdictional claims of the Machinists Union over into some of the industrial unions, where there was a fear that this would intensify rivalries and sharpen the split. We will have to keep that consideration carefully in mind in facing such problems under the new circumstances that are arising. We must understand that under all conditions we are driving towards creating the foundation, in the unions controlled by the reactionaries, for the struggle for unity with the industrial unions. If we are to organize strong progressive forces, we have to give them a political basis on which they can fight inside the old unions. We must not allow the policy of head-on collision between unions to be developed in jurisdictional struggles where they can be avoided.

The conditions on which unity can be achieved are the withdrawal of the suspensions, the guarantee of the continuous carrying through of the organization of the mass production industries into industrial unions, the restoration of those democratic rights of unions further infringed upon by the Executive Council in Tampa such as the actions taken against the federal unions, and rescinding the dictatorial powers of the Executive Council which came out of these last decisions.

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Let us turn to the unemployed and WPA workers and their organizations. The unemployed struggles are coming to the fore again as a key question in the whole political life of the country. The efforts now being made to squeeze down WPA and relief expenditures from Washington, a typical and expected course of the middle-of-the-roaders of the Roosevelt administration, are tests to see how much starvation the workers will stand without fighting. We have seen in the last years in the relief policy directed from Washington, a system whereby the administration regulates the flow of relief funds according to the scale of mass struggles that is put up in the various localities. They are constantly shifting their policies to test out how much resistance and struggle will be put up in any particular place. If they get by without any struggle, that proves to them they were correct in reducing expenditures. If they have a sharp fight, if there are collisions with the police and demonstrations and struggles around relief offices, that proves to them they were wrong, and they begin to raise expenditures up a little bit again. It is impossible to impress this sort of mentality with any kind of language except that of organization and struggle.

In the period before the elections there was created a little bit of the feeling of security among the unemployed because things were rather stable for a time; but the change after the elections was so sharp that even the most enthusiastic supporter of the Roosevelt administration, the New York Post, had to write a sharp editorial asking, "Who won the elections anyway?" They said that if a person had gone to sleep just before election day and then awakened in New York last week, he would have thought Landon won the elections, because of relief cuts that were being carried through. Of course, Landon didn't win, and as a result we have greater possibilities of changing the situation, greater possibilities if we organize and fight. The unemployed question for a time has been pushed into the background of our work in most places. The question of the unemployed must come forward because we are faced with a critical moment in the whole problem of relief and work for the unemployed. How we will work in directing the mobilization of the unemployed and bringing the solidarity of the progressive movement around their actions may be decisive in determining a lot of other questions not only of the unemployed. The whole course of the administration in Washington may hinge on how this first post-election issue goes, on whether the forces of progress or reaction have the last word to say.

The gains of unity in the Workers' Alliance have been great, but we have not fully exploited these gains and the possibilities of gains. Now the situation calls for greater attention to unemployment issues and unemployed struggles and to the unemployed organizations, more help and more guidance. These will encourage the next steps in building the people's front.

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This brings us to a problem which will probably play a most important role in the next immediate months, namely, the development of a legislative program for the new Congress. Around this legislative program must be built up a progressive bloc in Congress. And around these progressive forces a mass movement of support must be built up in the country. This is the first step to the next stage in building the Farmer-Labor Party.

It is clear what the nature of such a program will be. There will be concrete bills, insofar as possible worked out under our influence, making concrete proposals for carrying through necessary labor and social legislation. The closest working together with all possible progressive allies in the furtherance of such bills is an essential prerequisite for their success.

Where our point of view does not receive the broadest support of the progressive forces, we will have to,in addition to putting forward bills of our formulation, make such compromises as will be necessary to get a working relationship with the other progressives who have different ideas from us. While frankly declaring our differences with them, we will have to sometimes support unsatisfactory bills. In other cases, as in the question of social security, we will have the problem of how to fight most effectively for the workers' bill and at the same time be prepared to unite with these circles of progressives who will want to improve and amend the Social Security Bill. We will have to join in all movements to amend and improve the existing Social Security Act by increasing its coverage and requiring the employers to foot the entire cost. But we will not give up the fight for the Workers' Bill, because the Roosevelt security act is built upon such unsound principles that even if amended, it can never be converted into an adequate social security system.

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We should also raise the question of a national conference of social and labor legislation, to be held in Washington during the sessions of Congress. This should not be decided by us as something we are going out to carry through. Rather, there should be a general get-together of all progressive groupings in a national legislative conference, bringing mass pressure to bear upon Congress in the early months of its session.

We should raise with our progressive friends the discussion of possible measures to democratize election rights and practices in the United States, thereby advancing civil liberties generally. There should be federal regulation of all elections involving federal officials which is now entirely a state affair with resulting chaos. This is an obstacle to developing a national fight for civil rights.

Following the same approach, there should be work done on a state scale. We already have experiences, showing the tremendous value of state conferences on social and labor legislation. This must certainly be organized in every state where there are any forces that can be called together on any serious scale. Progressive groups in all state legislatures should also be formed. All this, let me emphasize again, is laying the groundwork for the Farmer-Labor Party and the People's Front. Only on the basis of such work can organizational measures have any serious meaning at all.

Just Before Attack on Tampa Rally

To the left, wearing the overseas cap, is the legionnaire who led the attack on the Browder election meeting in Tampa on Oct. 28. Browder is on the extreme right. Jack Strong, Florida organizer of the Communist Party, is at the microphone.

We want to give special attention to consolidating and extending the existing local and state Farmer-Labor Parties. There should be a warning word that in most cases these still have too narrow a base to be sufficient for extensive mass and legislative work. There should be no pretense of Farmer-Labor Parties where a mass basis does not exist. It is much better not to discredit the name of the Farmer-Labor Party by calling sectarian groupings by this name.

There is a pressing need for permanent relations between the Farmer-Labor Parties that now exist and between them and progressive groups inside the old parties. We will have to take up the detailed problems of how these broad progressive movements can participate in the primaries of the old parties on a local and state scale, and organize the fight of the progressives against the reactionaries in the primaries.

A platform of social and labor legislation, nationally and in each state, furnishes the foundation, the absolutely essential foundation, for every such effort. Without a big mobilization of mass support for a platform of social and labor legislation, any move towards organising participation in the primaries would have very bad results. Even when the foundation is laid for this mass movement, there will have to be the greatest care to avoid the inevitable dangers of throwing the masses back into the old two-party rut, instead of taking them out of it to build the Farmer-Labor Party.

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There is the question of keeping the face of the Communist Party in the public eye and the platform of the Communist Party forward in all of this work. At the same time we cannot shove the Communist Party into everybody's face in such a way as to make the Party offensive to people. Nor should we uncover all our forces in those cases where it is necessary to have people working without being known as Communists. The problem of how to develop open and official participation of the Communist Party in all of these growing movements towards the peoples front becomes more and more important. In this respect we have to give some points of guidance. First, there must be the utmost pressing forward of every measure to create conditions in which the Communist Party can be accepted without serious difficulty by every progressive group. Great care should be taken not to prematurely push this question to a decision when the relation of forces is against us, and we are certain to be rejected. The Socialist Party in New York, 10 minutes after they had been denouncing the American Labor Party, rushed to make a formal application for admission. This move considerably increased the difficulties of solving the proper relation between Socialists and Communists on one side and the American Labor Party on the other.

Under all circumstances we must give systematic attention to improving the working relations between Communists and the best progressive elements in the Farmer-Labor and progressive movement. In some places we have made considerable progress in this respect, but in many places this is still neglected, and great possibilities of work are simply left unexplored. In many places there is a sort of shyness and timidity. Some of us think a Communist should not walk into the office of another organization for fear he might not be welcome. And in many places they are looking for us, while we shy away from important contacts. There must be more attention paid to working out the friendliest relations with these progressive people, in making better contacts and in developing good working relations on all issues.

We must constantly agitate for the earliest possible national unification of the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party, without trying to press at this moment for specific organizational moves to that end, in the form of calling conferences of any kind. At this moment there is a strong hesitation, and not among the most backward circles of the Farmer-Labor Party movement, to calling a national conference. They fear that it will crystallize the issue too soon, before the broadest possible forces have been reached. We must take this hesitation into consideration and give some weight to it ourselves. We have to do everything we can to create a feeling of confidence that a Farmer-Labor Party can be successfully formed.

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We have to give more systematic and constant attention to the very broad united front formations which don't enter directly into the Farmer-Labor Party movement. They furnish a very good base and support for the Fafmer-Labor movement. Especially I have in mind the American Negro Congress, youth movements, church groups, the peace movement, fraternal organizations and so on. Most of these broad mass movements cannot immediately be a part of the Farmer-Labor Party movement. But they are definitely movements which can be used to extend the basis of the Farmer-Labor Party. It is absolutely an essential feature of our whole conception of the peoples' front that such movements should be an integral part of the fight against reaction and fascism. As we get more definitely organized in the political field, along the lines of the people's front, we will certainly find ourselves coming more and more into the position of the French people. There all of these broadest mass organizations are already a part of the French People's Front in a formal pact with the political parties. Although this cannot be the aim of our work at this moment, we should have in mind that we are working in that direction.

In this respect, we should mention the problem of the International Labor Defense and its growing importance. The whole question of labor defense and the struggle for labor's prisoners, internationally and nationally, is becoming more and more important. As the masses get a keener understanding of the problem of the protection of democratic rights, they are taking up the problems of political prisoners with a keenness and on a wider scale than we have ever seen in this country. Enormous things can be accomplished in the field of labor defense nationally and internationally if we give a little more attention to it.

We should mention the International Fund of our Party and the systematic financial help which our Party gives directly to other Parties in colonial and semi-colonial countries, as well as the German Party. We must insist more than ever that this international fund should be scrupulously maintained and used as effectively as possible. It is one of the best examples of our Party's work, of its political development, of its understanding of its role. Our International Fund is one of the finest features of our Party life. I must say that I am proud of it and I hope that we will, all of us, unite in the firm determination that it is going to be maintained at all costs, and extended.

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Now let us take up the special problems of the Socialist Party. It is necessary now to give an answer to what is our attitude toward the problem of the united front as a result of the changes that have taken place recently within the Socialist Party. Does this bring about any change in our tactics and proposals? As before we still believe that the united front is absolutely necessary, and even today we are confident that the majority of the Socialist rank and file want unity.

New difficulties have to be overcome to achieve the united front. We must place the struggle for the united front into the foreground as essential for the whole future existence of the Socialist Party as a whole. The Socialists must understand that nothing of a constructive nature can come out of the Socialist Party except on the basis of struggle against the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites. The ideas of the Socialist leaders have been corrupted by Trotskyite poison. The Socialist Party must rid itself of their poisonous influence, if they are to play any positive role in the struggles that loom ahead.

At this time, when the working class faces the danger of war and fascism, at a time when the people of Spain are fighting for democracy and life, Norman Thomas can find nothing better to do than head a so-called Committee in Defense Of Trotsky. He spends time defending an assassin plotting the murder of leaders of the Soviet working class. We regret that the counter-revolutionary character of Trotskyism has left such a mark on the Socialist Party.

The only way to rid the Socialist Party of Trotskyite influence is by concentrating the struggle for the expulsion of the Trotskyites against their most apparently harmful manifestations. The Socialist Party has called a special convention for next March, as you know. We must consult with the best elements in the Socialist Party about their problems in the most helpful way. We have to help these healthy left elements overcome the feelings of pessimism and passivity that now grip the best sections of the Socialist Party. They can make some change in the life of their Party at the March convention. These honest left-wingers must build a solid foundation so that there will be no longer the old policy of drift, of never coming to a decision on all vital issues. They must prepare for the March convention of the Socialist Party to get results, to win the Socialist Party for the united front and make a clean break with counter-revolutionary Trotskyites.

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Next, we turn to the fight for peace, and this means, of course, the question of Spain, where our slogan is "everything to defend Spanish democracy." Besides the broadest and most intense political campaign that is possible, we must now, more than ever, give attention to organizing practical material help for Spain. This is not only a matter of raising funds, but in encouraging those honest democratic people who are organizing themselves to go to Spain to participate in the armed struggle against the fascist barbarians who are trying to drown a whole people in a sea of blood, who are destroying cities and civilization, who are worse than any pestilence or scourge. This movement towards volunteering for the armed defense of Spanish democracy is affecting all strata of serious democrats in America, especially the workers, but also middle class, professional and liberal people. We can only welcome all such heroic volunteers and urge that more persons follow their example which is in the best tradition of American love of democracy and hatred of tyranny.

The whole question of using the great mass sentiments against fascism can most effectively be crystallized around the struggle for the Spanish people, around the struggle for the defense of these particular outstanding champions of democracy and progress.

Let us also not forget, as there is sometimes a tendency to, the rallying slogans against war and fascism that strike directly at the worst enemies of peace, the slogans for the freedom of Thaelmann, for the freedom of other prisoners of the Nazis, for the freedom of Prestes. This latter has especially great significance in relation to the Inter-American Peace Conference today. There are Governments present there, pressing directly on the path toward fascism in the Americas, who are parading in Buenos Aires as defenders of democracy on an international scale.

We must never forget that 90 per cent of the American people are resolutely opposed to war. It is this mass sentiment that must be crystallized into an effective weapon for peace. Through effective agreements for limited aims, through avoiding rigid forms, we must weld that healthy sentiment into a form to which the people are accustomed, and through this really mobilize them against war. We must take more serious responsibilities in helping to build the American League Against War and Fascism and bring it into a much broader united peace movement. Without such methods we will not be able to meet the issue of the coming war with any degree of effectiveness. It is only through the broadest mass federations of the organized peace sentiment of the country, that we can really have some influence in America on the question of war and peace. We know that a small Party even like ours, can influence the national life. We have proved it in the elections. Now we must prove it after the elections on the decisive question of war.

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We have the special problem of cultivating closer cooperation with our brother Parties in colonial and semi-colonial countries. This has become an organized part of our life; but we still have a tendency to allow it to fall back into too much of an organizational routine and to some small material help. We must try again to revive the old project of making groups or Districts of our Party give special consideration to Latin American countries and our brother parties there. In order to develop this closer, more intimate contact with our brother parties, we must do more than rely on general and formal relations of cooperation.

A special task in this fight for peace is involved in the utilization of the present Inter-American Peace Conference in Buenos Aires. We can use the peace sentiments and tendencies that were expressed at this conference, to create better conditions, better atmosphere for our whole peace work. We must endeavor to exert a direct influence among these circles, especially those in Latin-America which are only beginning to come in contact with the proletarian peace movement in the United States.

There are many positive features of the Inter-American Conference which can be effectively utilized. In spite of all its shortcomings, the Inter-American Peace Conference does constitute a move against the fascist aggression. By that alone, it is a positive feature in the world situation which can be used in the fight for peace.

Now, more than ever, there is the necessity for the fullest possible understanding of the Soviet Union as the bulwark in the fight for peace, and for the fight for progress of the whole world. How can that be done better than by popularizing the new Soviet Constitution, and when we consider that Constitution, what greater instrument is there than the recent speech of Comrade Stalin in presenting this Constitution to the Congress of Soviets? Would it not be a good idea if we would take Stalin's speech and make that a concentration point of literature distribution? I think that the Central Committee should issue a million copies of this pamphlet at a very cheap price. I am sure that if we could distribute a million copies of the speech on the Soviet Constitution, it would help make for the better understanding of the land of Socialism as the bulwark of peace and progress for all humanity.

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We can now turn to the tasks of building and strengthening our Party. It is an established fact that the spontaneous struggles of the workers for economic demands and democratic rights cannot give the understanding and strength necessary to win Socialism. What is required is the leading role of the Communist Party which teaches and guides the workers, which increases the fighting fitness of the working class for all struggles. It is in this connection that I want to deal with some organizational problems of our Party in order to examine those elements of our work which do not strengthen the working class and which prevent our Party from growing as fast as the situation requires.

First, I want to point out how the problem of building the Party is the problem of achieving two characteristic features of Lenin's teaching: the highest degree of centralization of direction and authority, together with the utmost decentralization of personal responsibility for carrying out the work. Let us examine the teachings of Lenin on this question, who said:

"The Committee must endeavor to achieve the maximum division of labor, remembering that different branches of revolutionary work demand different abilities."

This is another way of expressing the old American saying: Find a square hole for a square peg and a round hole for a round peg. This involves the whole question of personal responsibility. It means that each committee must know the capabilities and interests of each individual member. It means that they must know the kind of person each phase of work needs. Collectively, together with the individual comrade, they must shape the policies of the work, guide and help the individual, and thus enable him to grow to greater political maturity, to establish his authority to the highest degree among the workers associated around him. We must bear in mind that only in this way is there the possibility of developing capable leadership that can serve the working class and the Party to the best of their trained abilities. That will certainly avoid the unnecessary shifting of personnel that is one of our troubles, and will contribute to the stability of Party leadership among the working class.

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Now that we have stressed the decisive question of personal responsibility and careful attention, the next link and the most important one is to lift our units, fractions in unions and mass organizations, section leaderships and districts, to the level of the high political tasks that they are confronted with. This can be achieved only if the lower bodies of the Party are not just institutions for carrying out organization tasks outlined by the central leadership. They have to become in the near future the basis for shaping the policies of their organizations, of the workers with whom they come in contact. In that respect, on the question of how centralized leadership needs decentralization of tasks, Lenin gave us a permanently valid directive:

"We must centralize the leadership of the movement. We must also (and indeed for that purpose, for decentralization is impossible without information) effect the greatest possible decentralization of responsibility towards the Party of every individual mem-

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Central Committee Plenum of the Communist Party

Browder's Report on the Election Results and the Tasks Ahead

(Continued from Page 5)

ber, of every section of work and of every circle belonging, or adhering to the Party. Such decentralization is an essential condition for, and an essential correction to, revolutionary centralism."

We must consider the problem of activizing the units and sections, and emphasize the special role of factory units. We must again remind ourselves of our decisions to promote new cadres, fresh forces out of mass work, those who have shown the greatest capacity for rousing, leading and organizing the masses. We must cultivate these cadres, train them, and systematically develop them to higher levels of leadership.

We must build up the authority of our leading committees everywhere. It should be the task of a leading committee to establish respect among the people, with whom it works, the respect that comes from the expectation that here is the place that we will get the answers to our question, here is where we can go for help, here is where we can be told those things that we can't find anywhere else. We have got to create that same authority, especially in our District Committees. And the whole labor movement in the region should be taught to look to the District Committee of the Communist Party as the place where they can go for authoritative answers to their problems, for serious help in overcoming their difficulties.

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The centralization of leadership and authority and the decentralization of tasks is not yet fully understood. That is why we have so many troubles with recruiting. On the question of recruiting, we must again call attention to the problem of concentration. I don't have to repeat the principle involved in this. We must point out that we do have a tendency to forget it. In the building of the Party, education and training become more and more important, especially the education and the training of picked personnel. We have gained many experiences in the past year which could be used effectively. There is the question of books and pamphlets, where we have made many important advances, and the press, where our experiences were not so good. There is the question of our schools, the question of forums and the more systematic use of the principle of forum organisation, the problems of the radio, the problems of taking advantage of the capitalist press, a technique which we have just begun to touch, but which in general we neglect absolutely, the question of the movies, the theatre and arts, and all of these special activities, which must have a very distinct place in our process of mass education.

Especially important in the question of mass education are the Daily and Sunday Worker. There can be no building of the Party without the much more successful extension and systematic regular connection of the Daily Worker and Sunday Worker with the broad circle of workers around the Party. There is a close connection between weak recruiting in the Party and the weak development of the circulation of the Daily Worker. Let the entire Party membership become conscious of the need of making the Daily Worker and the Sunday Worker our main weapons in the systematic development of our connections, their education and their recruitment into the Party.

We must bring to the fore now the necessity of spreading the Party organization to new territory, and especially to small towns. This was emphasized in my mind very much by the experiences in Illinois, where the comrades informed me that the terrible election law there had a very good result for our Party. It forced us to go to every county in the state to get signatures. And we found that in the majority of the counties that we had never touched before, we had friends, people who had been waiting for us for years, people who said: "Where have you Communists been all the time. We have been looking for you for years, and you are the first live Communist we ever saw."

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We must make greater efforts to extend our work among the Negro people. This should be a special point of concentration in recruiting. The burden should not be placed on our Negro comrades, but must be one of the major tasks of the entire Party. Likewise we should extend much more aid to our young comrades. We must help them with their special problems, especially the big job of preparing for their eighth national convention in April.

Throughout this whole work of building the Party, we must pay special attention to a higher quality of work. Here I want to mention what a great role the slogan of better quality of work played in the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union, in the mastering of the tasks of the industrialization, in the execution of the five-year plan in four years. You will remember Stalin's great speech on this question and how it was decisive in the whole construction of Socialism. Let us apply a little bit of that to our much smaller problems of just building the first foundations of a mass Party.

Without this constant struggle for quality, for ever higher quality in our work, we cannot move forward. The building of the Party is not merely adding greater volume of Communists, more numbers, concentrating on statistics. It is essentially and centrally the question of constantly improved quality, greater effectiveness in every phase of our work. That means the better inner organization of our work, better distribution of our tasks, personal responsibility, and the avoidance of what is always a danger especially for our Party, the danger of departmental fetishism and the impersonalization of work.

Here again we can make some very good application of the experiences in the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union. In their struggle for quality, you will remember they came to the question of the necessity of personal responsibility and the abolition of all impersonal forms of the organization of work. You remember how they expressed this so classically in the railroad industry. There had been an old practice of constantly shifting an engineer from one engine to another which resulted in the destruction of an enormous amount of the power resources of engines and railroads. What a tremendous improvement they made when they adopted a policy of making one engineer responsible for one engine. They made him personally responsible for the engine and did not merely place responsibility upon the engineering department for all the engines. One person was responsible for one machine and no excuses were allowed if the machine was not in good order.

All of these things are merely the concrete phases of the whole problem of the Bolshevization of the Party. Bolshevization includes all the measures we have spoken of, on the basis of a mastery of the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

* Lenin, "A Letter to a Comrade on Our Organizational Tasks", Collected Works, Vol. V.

At Terre Haute Court

Workers in Terre Haute crowded the court room to hear Earl Browder in his plea for a writ of injunction to bar police from interfering with his meeting there.

V. The Relation of the People's Front to the Struggle for Socialism

There are still some of our friends (perhaps even still a few Party members) who are worried about the possibility that the struggle for the people's front and its demands (which are compatible with the continuance of capitalism) may lead us to neglect or forget about our final goal of socialism. Some months ago, for example, our friend Scott Nearing wrote me a letter in which he developed the theory that, while the people's front was necessary, it could not be built by the same Party which fights for socialism. There must be a division of labor, so to speak, between two parties of the working class, one of which should struggle for the people's front and its demands and the other should struggle for socialism. He seemed to think that the Socialist Party formerly had the first role and the Communist Party the second, and that now the roles are being reversed, with the CP taking the "reformist" road of people's front and the SP becoming the "revolutionary" Party. Although Nearing is by no means a Trotskyist, it is clear that in this he was influenced by the Trotskyite tendency of thought, which has wrought such havoc in socialist ranks lately. Whether he would be of the same opinion now, after the campaign, is questionable; but still the problem requires continuous clarification for many people. This is our task, which we undertake without complaint. Every vital problem requires constant re-examination and re-statement, so also the problem of the relation of the people's front to the struggle for socialism.

Our country, in common with the rest of the capitalist world, is threatened with reaction, fascism, and war. The reactionary forces are strong and menacing. On the other hand, those standing for socialism, which is the only final solution, are relatively weak—in the U.S.A. especially weak. Must we therefore become pessimists, and concede in advance that reaction and fascism must surely win, and that only through the bitter sufferings of fascism can the great majority be won to socialism? No, that would be absolutely wrong, it would be criminal, it would amount to a silent partnership with reaction. Although the great toiling majority of the population are not ready to struggle for socialism, they are ready to defend their democratic rights and living standards against the attacks of reaction and fascism, and they are more and more anxious to struggle for the maintenance of peace. Organized and roused to struggle, on a platform for which they are now prepared, they can and will prevent fascism from coming to power. We can organize and rouse them—provided we do not demand of them that they agree with our socialist program, but unite with them on the basis of their program which we make also our own.

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They are not socialists yet for many reasons: among these are, that they have many prejudices and misconceptions about socialism and communism; that they think the problems can be worked out under a corrected and purified capitalism, and so forth. They believe that further experience will prove they are right. We disagree with them, we think that only socialism will finally solve our problems, and we believe that experience will prove that we are right. In the meantime, both these who want socialism and the much larger number who do not, can still agree on the necessity to defeat reaction, fascism, and war. Why not, then, unite all such people for their common purpose? That is the proposal of the people's front.

The non-socialist progressives may ask, why should we unite with those who want socialism, and who say openly they think the people's front will ultimately give way to socialism? Our answer is, we grant you non-socialists the right to believe that the ultimate outcome will not be socialism, but in the meantime only our unity and common front will prevent fascism from being the **immediate** outcome; therefore it is better if we continue our debate on this question behind the common line of defense we set up against fascism which would stop all our discussions. To our allies in the fight against fascism, we pledge the use of democratic methods as the sole means of resolving questions in dispute between us. Whichever of us is correct in the last instance, the interests of both will be served by unity and a common front.

To the advocate of socialism, who fears the people's front as an obstacle to achieving the new socialist society, we say: Do you really think that socialism can come without the active support of these great masses of toiling people who are not adherents of socialism yet? Of course you don't. Do you think you can win them over, if in face of the danger of reaction, fascism and war, you stand aside from them and refuse cooperation except upon the terms of their agreement to socialism? If you really think that, then you are poor socialists indeed, for you have failed to learn the elementary lessons of the great founders of modern socialism, Marx and Engels, and of their most worthy pupils who founded and built the first socialist society, Lenin and Stalin.

The problem for practical builders of socialism and fighters for socialism is everywhere and at all times, to find the connecting link which ties up the life-problems of the masses of the toiling people at the present moment with their largest historical interests that are represented in the future socialist society. They, the tens of millions who provide the moving force of history, must be convinced upon the basis of their own experience in struggle of the necessity and inevitability of each successive step of their movement toward socialism. The more they are organized and roused in struggle against the evils of capitalism the quicker they can understand and assimilate the teachings of socialism, and consciously take the path to the new society.

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Now, when capitalism in decay, capitalism rotten and collapsing, is turning more and more to fascism and war, blindly and brutally destroying everything good which had been created in the period of its upward development, it is possible and necesary for us to do everything to get tens of millions into organized struggle against these most reactionary manifestations of capitalism. That is the quickest and most direct road to socialism—if the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are correct. For those, non-socialists, who do not accept these teachings, this argument has no validity; to them we say, therefore, if the argument is not valid, you should not be afraid of it. This is an argument for socialists, not for non-socialists.

Everything that organizes and activizes the workingclass and its allies is progress toward socialism; likewise, everything that weakens and discourages the forces of reaction goes in the same direction. This is the fundamental conception that underlies the revolutionists' understanding of the fight for the people's front.

What nonsense it is to think that socialism will come out of the work of an isolated sect to which socialism is a dogma and not a guide to action here and now in the daily struggle against capitalism's worst oppressions! That is a repetition of the sterile dogmatism of the Socialist-Labor Party, and will bring the same results. Only the party of the mass struggle for immediate issues today will become the party of actual socialist construction tomorrow.

What is true within our country, is true on the largest international stage. Today it is the Soviet Union, the land of socialism, the land where is realised the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which rallies all progressive and peace forces of the whole world in the struggle for democracy and peace—while at the same time it gives the most inspiring examples of the final victory of socialism, of its immeasurable superiority over capitalism, of its fruition in a democracy beyond the dreams of bourgeois democrats.

The struggle for the people's front, for democracy and peace, is at the same time the most effective struggle for socialism. Just because our Party has become the outstanding fighter for the all-inclusive unity of the progressive forces of America, with a non-socialist platform on which they can be united now, for that very reason we have a confidence that is unshakable that our Party, and no other, will lead the toiling masses of the United States to the realisation of socialism.

GERMANS ASK UNITED FIGHT AGAINST NAZIS

6,000 Cheer Appeal at Anti-Nazi German Day Meeting

More than 6,000 German-Americans yesterday afternoon packed two halls in the Hunts Point Palace, in the Bronx, to celebrate German Day, 1936, under anti-fascist auspices, while noted speakers called for unity of the German people against Nazism and lauded the Spanish fight for democracy.

The meeting, held under the auspices of the German-American League for Culture, enthusiastically greeted a declaration of Prince Hubertus von Lowenstein, exiled leader of the German Catholic Youth, for unity of all anti-Nazis, for the sake of combating and destroying Hitlerism and Fascism."

This was the first open call for united action of all foes of German fascism on the part of Prince von Lowenstein, who has just ended a tour of the United States to stir up sentiment against the Hitler regime.

Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld, former Social-Democratic Minister of Justice of Prussia, thrilled the crowd with the story of the heroic fight of the Spanish people against international fascism. He pai.' particular tribute to the German anti-fascist volunteers in Spain.

"SPAIN WILL WIN"

"I addressed a mass meeting of German anti-fascists and anti-Nazis in Spain," he declared. "They are attempting today to do what they could not do when Hitler rose to power."

Lashing the Fascist interventionists, Rosenfeld declared: "The fight in Spain today is not a civil war, but a war of Mussolini and Hitler to make Spain a fascist country. But the Spanish workers will still be victorious."

Other speakers on the program, which ran from three o'clock in the afternoon until early evening, were Klaus Mann, noted German novelist, in exile together with his father, Thomas Mann, Germany's greatest living writer, Ernst Toller, great German playwright, Prof. Julius Lits of Columbia University and Otto Sattler, editor of "Solidarity."

The meeting was presided over by Eugene F. Grigat. Various workers' groups gave skits and dances.

China's Millions Are Marching to Smash the Japanese Invader

(Continued on Page 6)

anese invasion of Suiyuan. The Nanking ruler intended to duplicate what was done in the Southern provinces last summer. But the Kuomintang Generalissimo, to his consternation, discovered that Chinese history also repeats itself, the second time as a tragedy.

DEMAND UNITED ACTION

Chiang's victory over General Chen Chi-tang, governor of Canton, last summer was gained only because the Chinese people did not want civil war but desired a unified China to fight against Japanese imperialism.

Instead of capitulating to Chiang, the general staff of Chang Hsueh-liang's armies seized the Nanking dictator and his cabinet, holding them prisoners, while to the Executive Yuan (a sort of hand-picked parliament, manipulated by the Kuomintang, Nationalist Party of China) they sent these historical demands originally proposed by the Communist Party of China:

1.—An immediate declaration of war against Japan to drive out the Japanese invader and insure the national independence of China.

2.—A pledge by the Nanking government to recover all lost territories, including Manchuria, now controlled by Japan.

3.—Reorganization of the Kuomintang to permit of a united front with the Communists and all other Chinese groups favorable to a unified China and a struggle against Japanese imperialism.

General Chen Ming-chu, famous organizer of the 19th Route Army, which inflicted serious reverses on the armed invaders in the Shanghai war of 1932, in a recent article described the profound movement that finally led to the present events.

Writing in the December British Labour Monthly, General Chen said:

"Even now, in the ranks of the Kuomintang and the Nanking government many eminent members who previously agreed with a negative policy, have now come forward and struggled to consolidate the All People's Front.

Leaders like Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang, Yu You-jen, Sun Fo and others are now actively pursuing that line.

"Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, the ex-administrator of Manchuria, stated some time ago in an interview given to a correspondent of the Daily Herald [London Labor daily] that if Japan makes any more demands, hostilities against the Chinese Red Army must be completely stopped.

"His soldiers, burning with a desire to return to their native home in Manchuria and oust the Japanese, are unwilling to fight the Red Army, composed of poor peasants and fellow countrymen like themselves. Many of the officers and soldiers of General Sung Cieh-yuan, the leader in command of North China, are rankling with dissatisfaction at what has been done in North China. Even many of Chiang Kai-shek's own forces have given considerable evidences of a reluctance to obey, if the old policy, of subservience to Japan, but civil war and cruelty towards their fellow countrymen, continues to be pursued. The government's present firmer stand in the face of Japanese demands and maneuvers is a welcome fact for the further development of the All People's Front."

China's 400,000,000 people almost to a man feel the deep humiliation of Japanese aggression. And on every hand there was mounting proof that the program of the Communist Party, of uniting all forces of China willing to drive out the invader, was sweeping the harassed country.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

In the present article space will not permit a discussion of many phases of the current dramatic news; but we consider it more important to deal with the dynamic movement and policy of the Communist Party undeniably behind the present occurrence, as well as destined to play a still more decisive role in the history of that great country.

On August 1, 1935, the Chinese Soviet government and the Chinese Communist Party jointly issued a manifesto to the people of China. They called for a unification of every political force of China, of all the armies of China, including the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek, to defeat Japanese imperialism and liberate China.

Despite the bitter attacks of the pro-Japanese cliques, and even the dogged resistance of Chiang Kai-shek, the past year saw almost every strata of the Chinese people come over to the Communist Party's national unity proposals.

The first to accept the Communist Party's manifesto was the League of National Revolutionists, a body of leaders of the famous 19th Route Army.

STUDENT GROUPS, UNIONS

There followed nearly all students' groups in China, all anti-Japanese organizations, all labor unions, all groups of professors, intellectuals, writers, National Salvation and other associations. The Kuomintang itself was saturated with the ever-more popular demand of the Communists for a unified China.

Instead of fighting the Kuomintang armies, the Red Armies fraternised with their Chinese brothers in the uniform of the Nanking forces. **"Chinese do not fight Chinese!"** was the Red Armies slogan. **"Let us unite and jointly turn our guns against the enemies of the Chinese people, Japanese imperialism!"** Not only the rank and file of the Kuomintang armies but at first the lower officers, then the higher officers, and finally the commanding staffs were drawn into the movement.

The position of the Communist Party towards the Kuomintang, which now rules China, is of the greatest importance.

In 1927, Chiang Kai-shek at the head of the Kuomintang had betrayed the interests of China's anti-imperialist, national revolution, by breaking the unity with the Communists and butchering off his allies in the interests of the Chinese landlords and the foreign imperialists. As the result of the policy, Japan found China an easy prey. Manchuria was seized in 1931. In 1932, Shanghai was invaded. Jehol and Chahar were seized. All of North China was marked for Japanese invasion.

But the Chinese people called a halt to this policy of capitulation. Tremendous resistance was put up against the present invasion of Suiyuan. A complete change took place within the Kuomintang and its armed forces.

The Communist Party of China advanced the program for the unification of all political and military forces of China for a national war of emancipation against Japanese imperialism. So far as this policy relates to the Kuomintang itself, we quote the words of Comrade G. Dimitroff on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Communist Party of China:

"The Party, basing itself on the will of the masses, is faced with the task of carrying on a systematic struggle to establish a united national front with the Kuomintang. This is no easy task, for many of the leaders of the Kuomintang, and its military men and politicians, blinded with hatred of the Communists, give way to Japanese provocation, and instead of organizing resistance to the usurper, jointly with the Communist Party and Red Army, are wiping out the armed forces of China in a criminal war against the Red Army and in internal conflicts between generals."

The Red Army of China, through its leaders Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh, repeatedly addressed the leaders of the Kuomintang armed forces, for joint action against Japanese imperialism.

They declared that the Communists do not place the Kuomintang, or even Chiang Kai-shek, in the same category as the Japanese invaders.

They declared that if the Kuomintang, and even Chiang Kai-shek, were ready to unite with the Communists and all other Chinese for the major historical task of breaking Japan's stranglehold on China, the Communists were ready for such unity.

The Communists pledged to subordinate all of their activities to the main task of defeating Japanese imperialism.

Here are the basic proposals for that end put forward by the Communist Party of China and its glorious Red Army:

(1) A united national front against Japanese imperialism.

(2) An All-China government of national defense.

(3) A political agreement between the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang and other political organizations based on a joint struggle against Japanese imperialism. This political agreement is to provide for each group to preserve its full organizational and political independence.

Referring to the last point, the Chinese Communist leader, Wan Min, recently wrote:

"The success of the liberation struggle of the Chinese people depends first and foremost on the strength, unity, discipline and fighting power of the Communist Party itself."

The leaders of the Chinese Red Army further proposed that there be a united front between all of the fighting forces of China, particularly between the Red Army and the Kuominchun (the Kuomintang Army). They proposed the creation of an All-China anti-Japanese Army established on the basis of political agreement of the Red Army and the Kuomintang and other troops for the defense of China.

The Red Army proposed cessation of the civil war against the Red Army by Nanking.

DANGER OF NAZI PACT

The Communist Party of China further proposed the establishment of a democratic Republic with a Chinese parliament which on the basis of a unified nation would arouse the 400,000,000 Chinese for a victorious war against the Japanese imperialist invaders.

Recent events hastened matters. Japanese conclusion of a so-called anti-Communist pact with Nazi Germany and a mutual recognition of plunder with Fascist Italy, as well as the drive into Suiyuan, impressed on Chinese leaders the necessity for immediate action.

Shensi is the strongest base of the Red Army of China, and is the headquarters also of Chiang Kai-shek's anti-Communist forces. The Red Army deliberately concentrated its forces in Kansu, Shensi, Shansi and near Suiyuan to be in a position to act as the anti-Japanese vanguard.

It is quite logical, therefore, that Chiang Kai-shek should be seized and a "mutiny" of Kuomintang troops take place where they were most highly concentrated to attack the Communists and the Red Army of China.

There had, indeed, been very little fighting for more than a year. The Red Army never deliberately opened an attack on the Kuomintang. The Red Army leaders knew the sentiment and temper not only of the Kuomintang rank and file but of the higher officers.

The results are now known to the world.

The fate of Chiang Kai-shek is not the most important factor.

The whole issue of a united China, along with the Communists, to defeat Japanese invasion has been raised to a point where it can never put down until it is solved.

China is on the march, and the 400,000,000 Chinese people are moving rapidly towards unity, a unity which will have a tremendous effect against the united fascist bloc.

The liberation of one-fifth of the population of the world from Japanese imperialism will be a great factor in helping preserve the peace of the rest of the world and in giving a final, crushing blow to world fascism.

Australian Sailors "Cut the Falls"

SYDNEY, Australia, Dec. 13.—The seamen of the Australian Navy won't stand for bullying martinets, low pay or cuts in shore leaves.

That is why the Admirals of the Australian Fleet of His Majesty, George VI, are in a dither about mutiny in the ranks. Fear ran up their spines when the ship's falls—hausers on which lifeboats are raised and lowered—were found cut some time between midnight and 4 A.M.—during the middle watch.

Though these ropes are costly to replace, it isn't the expense that has the Admirals in a furore. Cutting the fall is the sailor's sign, handed down through generations, of mutiny.

Though the Admirals set spies to work to discover the guilty tars, had seamen closely watched and tightened discipline on them, their inquiries were of no avail. A few days later, as the cruiser was approaching Brisbane, the breech-blocks of three four-inch anti-aircraft guns were found missing.

A major inquiry was opened. Admiral Kane-Poole had the lower decks cleared and gave the crew a lecture in person. Then, wheedling, he invited the culprits to step out, and promised protection to stool-pigeons. For all the good it did him, he might have talked to the waste-lands of the Australian deserts. Not a word, not a glance gave a hint as to the guilty sailors.

When the ship docked at Brisbane city detectives began to use new-fangled crime detection schemes in an attempt to ferret out the culprits.

The ship was fine-combed for clews. Fingerprints were taken. But the lower decks were shut as tight as a clam. Brisbane cops were flabbergasted. They couldn't get anywhere either.

Rumors have reached the ears of the admirals that the sailors are in close contact with the revolutionary labor movement ashore. Study classes in Marxism were reported below decks. Yet rifling of the seamen's kits has not yielded a solitary leaflet, not to speak of the three tomes of Marx's "Capital."

NOTABLES RAP FASCIST STAND OF UNAMUNO

Butler Also Condemned for Issuing Appeal for Franco

Miguel Unamuno, rector of the University of Salamanca, who attacked the Spanish government in a letter to President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University, was assailed as a fascist yesterday by the North American Committee to aid Spanish Democracy.

Butler was also condemned for releasing the letter allegedly from a neutral observer calling for support of General Franco by foreign educators.

The committee declared:

"Long before this letter was released by Nicholas Murray Butler, Unamuno announced his open support of Franco and fascism. In making this move, he joined hands with Hitler and Mussolini, who stifled culture in Italy and Germany.

DENOUNCED BY ENVOY

"As Senora Isabella de Palencia, author, diplomat, and art authority, declared in an interview over a month ago, 'It was then that the doctors and educators and intellectuals of Spain tore up the portraits of Unamuno they had long been proud to display on their walls. To the cultured people of Spain and Europe, Unamuno the man of culture died when Unamuno embraced the greatest destroyer of culture our century has known—fascism. Today, Unamuno is only one thing—a fascist.'

"Unamuno's statement is typical of all fascist statements. It has the typical fascist disregard for truth, the typical fascist custom of attributing to anti-fascists and democracy the crimes of fascism.

"He decries the destruction of hospitals and schools, the bombing of unfortified cities. These acts, as everyone knows, are the acts of fascism. It is the Franco fascist flyers, soaring in German and Italian planes and dropping German and Italian bombs on Spanish Madrid, who destroy hospitals and bomb unfortified cities.

SIGNED BY NOTABLES

"Unamuno says that the conflict is one of 'defending our Western and Christian civilization, the marvelous builder of Europe, against an Eastern fantastic scheme which would certainly destroy everything.' The only Eastern fantastic scheme in Spain is the one of hiring Moors (with worthless marks) to shoot down a Spanish people who voted for democracy at the polls, and who are defending it against foreign fascism with their lives."

STUDENT FACES COURT TODAY

Jack Corrigan, New York University student charged with raising a banner, which said, "Arms for Democratic Spain," on the Washington Square flagpole, will come up for trial at 2 P. M. tomorrow at Essex Market Court, Second Ave. and Seetond St.

Corrigan, 20-year-old freshman, who is also employed as a student assistant in the library, was arrested Nov. 25.

Charges of malicious mischief and of violating a city ordinance prohibiting distribution of political leaflets in city parks were lodged against Corrigan after he was kept in jail for nine hours and subjected to verbal abuse by the cops.

Corrigan was released in custody of his attorney, Bernard B. Pensak, of the International Labor Defense. That organization has urged friends of democracy and of Spain to pack the courtroom Tuesday afternoon.

Peonage Was Rife Along the Levees Under Somervell

Flogging of Negroes, Compulsory Purchases in Commissary on Engineering Project He Controlled Were Exposed in 1931-32

By Walter Wilson
(By Federated Press)

Col. Brehon B. Somervell, Works Progress Administrator for New York City and spearhead of the present national works relief slicing movement, permitted wholesale peonage to exist—or failed to stop it—on government levee and river improvement jobs under his supervision along the Mississippi River and its tributaries in 1931 and 1932, according to reliable information uncovered by the Federated Press.

The data throws much light on Col. Somervell's recent statements and acts as WPA administrator, including his use of federal agents to spy on workers on WPA projects, his threats to carry out mass dismissals, his insistence on a pauper's oath as a basis for determining need of the unemployed for jobs, and his criticism of Mayor F. H. LaGuardia for not allowing violence to be used in ejecting sit-in strikers on WPA projects.

Knowledge of Somervell's background also helps to explain his appointment as a trouble-shooter over New York's WPA at a time when vast cuts are contemplated. It is generally recognized that if work relief standards can be lowered in New York City and mass layoffs are successfully carried out, it will be easier to carry out similar policies in the rest of the country. New York is the key spot and as such needs the attention of a hardboiled army man with a record of "handling" labor problems.

UNCOVERED IN '31

The peonage referred to was unearthed during 1931 and 1932 by investigators for the American Federation of Labor and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. During 1931 Col. Somervell (then a major of engineers) was special assistant to the president of the Mississippi River Commission (a subdivision of the U. S. Army Engineers Corps). It had charge of levee and river improvement work, which was farmed out to private contractors. In 1932 he was in charge of the Memphis engineer district and had jurisdiction from Cape Girardeau, Mo., to the mouth of the Arkansas River.

The findings of several investigators who inspected the camps, including Thomas E. Carroll, Washington, D. C., of the International Association of Machinists; Holt Ross, southern representative of the A. F. of L.; a former investigator for the American Red Cross, and Roy Wilkins, editor of The Crisis, organ of the N.A.A.C.P., can be summarized thus:

THE RECORD

1. Wages were much below the prevailing standards, the average paid on levee jobs being 10 cents an hour.

2. In violation of President Hoover's orders that the 8-hour day should prevail on such government work, hours of labor ranged from 12 a day upwards—even though work was from six weeks to six months ahead of schedule.

3. A feature of peonage everywhere a compulsory commission system prevailed on these jobs. Each worker was forced to pay a minimum charge of $4.50 weekly, even though actual purchases might be less than half that amount. Prices in commissaries were from 100 per cent to 500 per cent higher than in ordinary stores, and there were other deductions.

4. Negro men were flogged at the slightest pretext, some for refusing to work more than 14 hours a day. Women cooks were flogged if their meals were not satisfactory to the employers. Both men and women were lashed for daring to ask for itemized statements from the company commissaries.

5. Camps of the unemployed were deliberately set up near these peon camps to intimidate the employed.

SOMERVELL'S TRAINING SCHOOL

These conditions, except for the floggings, existed for white labor as well as for Negro. Said Carroll of the machinists' union: "The army engineers . . . seemed to be silent and indifferent to the welfare of the workers." The Crisis editor in his report said: "We know now that the army has a group of engineers in every camp. These engineers live in their tents in the camps. They do business daily and nightly with the contractors. They supervise and pass finally upon all levee construction. They know exactly, in detail, what the Negro laborers are suffering in those camps."

Interviewed by Federated Press, Wilkins declared that Somervell could not have been unaware of the conditions which existed under his supervision.

This is the training school from which Somervell was graduated before coming to rule New York's unemployed labor as WPA administrator. This is where he may have got his ideas on work relief standards and on what constitutes need.

Somervell's Spies Condemned in Note Of Liberties Union

Condemnation of the reported use of spies by the WPA administration in New York was voiced by the New York Civil Liberties Committee today in a letter to Lieut. Col. Brehon B. Somervell, local WPA administrator, signed by Florina Lasker, chairman and Victor Cettner, chairman of the Union's Committee on the Rights of Unemployed.

The letter declared:

"This committee has been greatly disturbed by reports in the press that your administration is employing federal agents disguised as employees in connection with the controversy around the recent dismissals on white collar projects.

"The recent discoveries of the LaFollette Committee of industrial spying has brought universal condemnation. We feel that it is most improper for the government to use similar tactics towards its own employees. We earnestly urge that the use of undercover agents of any kind in connection with WPA projects be immediately discontinued."

Arkansas Data Shows Farmers Losing Lands

Tenancy Report Holds Conditions Menace to U. S. Institutions

By AARON LEVENSTEIN

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Dec. 13.—"A serious menace to American institutions" is the description applied by the Arkansas farm tenancy commission to conditions prevailing among tenant farmers in the state.

Following a long investigation, the commission appointed by Gov. J. Marion Futrell has made public its conclusions. It is reported that "in 1930, 63 per cent of all farms of the state were operated by tenants and that tenancy increased 12 per cent between 1920 and 1930." Referring to violations of civil liberties, it condemned "all acts on the part of anyone to interfere with fundamental rights of American citizens."

PASSES BUCK TO U. S.

The commission, however, shifted major responsibility for relieving the economic situation onto the shoulders of the federal government, urging that the "United States, in cooperation with the state, secure suitable farm lands for sale to tenant farmers upon terms which can be met by any reasonably good farmer."

Large numbers of farm laborers, it might have been mentioned, once owned their own farms, but competition of large plantations drove them from possession. The Southern Tenant Farmers Union, in a memorandum submitted to the commission, had pointed out the impossibility of returning to the small individual farm. In place of a return to small farm ownership—called an impossible turning back of the economic clock—the union proposed the establishment of large-scale cooperative farms and asserted that "through cooperatives we can plant the seeds of a new life."

Ouster Asked As WPA Chief Boasts Firings

Director Brags in Bar—Worker Shows He's a Good Union Man

LANCASTER, Pa., Dec. 13.—When W. A. Trees, WPA director for the industrial district of Lancaster, York and Berks counties told a Democratic Party worker in the bar room of the Democratic Club here that he was going to "send the Workers Alliance and the Hod Carriers and Common Laborers Union to hell," and arrest thirty of their leaders, he reckoned without his audience.

The man he was talking to cared more about his union than he did about Trees' political aspirations. He reported the incident.

Lancaster Central Labor Union therefore demanded Tuesday that Trees be fired. A committee of the C.L.U., Hod Carriers and Workers Alliance is in Harrisburgh today to see Governor George Earle and press this demand.

The Central Labor Union further demanded the release of the Berkshire Mill pickets held in prison on 30-day sentences.

Cleveland Union Men Fired for Activities In Bronze Works

CLEVELAND, O., Dec. 13.—Two committeemen of the Mechanics Educational Society were discharged for union activity at the Cleveland Graphite Bronze Co. The union took a strike vote and authorized the committee to order a walkout if the discharged men did not get their jobs back. They got the jobs back.

SIT-DOWN STRIKE FOR RELIEF

SHOW-DOWN IS DEMANDED ON MINNESOTAWPA

Cultural Project Group Forces Administrator to Hear Protests

By RICHARD LEEKLEY

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Dec. 13.—The Cultural Project Workers Council yesterday called upon Victor Christgau, State WPA Administrator, to protest the drastic curtailment of the cultural projects in this state.

At refusing to see the delegation Christgau was faced with demands for an open statement of the aims of the state WPA. Christgau disclaimed any responsibility for this action.

"I am a federal administrative officer," he stated. "I am not a state official, and as a loyal servant of the national administration I cannot protest orders. I can only will carry them out. I am only a good soldier and I never question my superiors."

With reference to the sudden layoffs of 24 per cent of the artists and about 10 per cent of the writers, Christgau positively stated that these people will not be reinstated before Tuesday, if at all.

When asked about the $87,000,000 WPA surplus, Christgau said, "All I know about that is what I read in the newspapers. I have no say about Minnesota. Your congressmen make the laws. See your congressmen."

The Cultural Project Workers Council held a mass meeting in Minneapolis Saturday afternoon. "Cultural projects workers in Minnesota are being discriminated against," Chairman Syd Possum of the Project Workers Council said after the conference. "It is a direct attack upon the artists' right to live.

"Private industry offers no place for professional and white collar workers. They are the last to get a square deal.

"Further action will be taken by the Council Monday, together with another conference with Mr. Christgau," Possum said.

West Bronx Group to Hear Report on Spain

Correspondent to Describe Fight Against Franco's Fascist Army

Eugene A. Schachner, correspondent who recently returned from Spain, will be one of the speakers at a mass meeting in Elsmere Hall, 284 East 170th St., at 8:30 p.m. Wednesday.

Other prominent speakers at the meeting, sponsored by the recently formed West Bronx Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, include Rabbi Henry Schorr of the Concourse Temple, Congregation Adath Israel; the Rev. Edgar S. Jackson of the Willis Ave. Church; Dr. Samuel Schmalhausen, well-known author and lecturer, and Albert Rambao, chairman of the Committee for Cultural Relations with Latin America.

Bronx Committee which is an affiliate of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, was effected at a meeting of delegates from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Parent-Teachers Association No. 88, the Concourse Chapter of the American Jewish Congress, the American League Against War and Fascism, the Socialist Party, Communist Party and other groups.

The Committee reported yesterday that its receiving station, the home of Mrs. B. Camel, 1296 College Ave., has been getting large supplies of clothing and food for the Spanish people, and urged people in the neighborhood to continue and increase their contributions.

Budenz to Discuss AFL Convention at Meeting on Dec. 18

Louis F. Budenz, labor editor of the Daily Worker, will discuss the last convention of the American Federation at a mass meeting Friday evening, Dec. 18, at Stuyvesant High School, 15th Street, between Second and First Avenues.

Irving Potash, assistant manager of the Furriers Joint Council, will preside. Questions and discussion will follow the lecture.

(Daily Worker Staff Photo)

Two hundred unemployed men and women and 18 children held the District Office 11 of the Emergency Relief Bureau, 8 Ave. D, from Friday to Saturday at 4 P.M. They left after a 3-hour conference with Administrator H. A. Levine. From 9 A.M. to 4 P.M. police prevented food being taken to the sit-downs. Relief for the more urgent of the 26 cases presented was promised.

Chicago Jobless, WPA To March Against Firings

Parade Plans Mapped for Wednesday as Slashes in Jobs and Relief Are Begun—White Collar Groups Sit Down in Offices of Project

(Daily Worker Midwest Bureau)

CHICAGO, Ill., Dec. 13.—WPA workers and the Illinois Workers Alliance will parade through the Loop on Wednesday, and go to WPA headquarters to protest lowered relief budgets and WPA dismissals. The Chicago Relief Commission, housed in Merchandise Mart, like WPA, will also receive the protests of the workers, cut off relief or cut to starvation levels under the "Liberty League" relief system in vogue here.

Masses of workers are thrown off WPA jobs and the relief commission is holding back registry on relief rolls to about 65 a day, the workers claim. The result is widespread misery among those thrown out of WPA. Relief is on such a low level that starvation is the lot of all those pronounced "unemployable" and condemned to stay on the relief rolls. Relief has been cut more than 50 per cent from early days of the crisis, when food prices were far lower than they are now.

SEEK UNION PARLEY

Congressmen will be deluged with postcards showing a WPA worker gazing at a Christmas tree. The tree is adorned with a tag marked "403." That is the number of the dismissal form, which is the only Christmas present WPA workers have received from F.D.R. this year. Mass delegations will visit congressmen's homes during Christmas week.

The Illinois Workers Alliance is trying to get a trade union conference called by the Chicago Federation of Labor.

About sixty members of a mass delegation "sat down" in the state WPA offices here yesterday and swore they would not leave till they got a satisfactory answer from Assistant Administrator Miner. The delegation represented the Technical and Research Workers Union, the Teachers Union, the Artists Union, the American Federation of Government Employes and the Illinois Workers Alliance.

DEMAND FIRING STOP

The delegation demanded to see the Administrator. Their demands were "stop firing WPA workers, and rehire those who have been fired." Some 300 white collar workers of various categories have been fired in the last few days.

The mass delegation settled down in the general offices on the second floor of the Merchandise Mart. The Administrator abruptly refused the workers' demands, and the sit-down started, spontaneously.

The sit-downers are in a serious situation, because all avenues of getting food to them are blocked.

Lansing WPA Girls Recovering from Gas Accident in Office

LANSING, Mich., Dec. 13.—Thirteen girls in the WPA office here were overcome by gas poisoning Friday and are now recovering in hospitals. There were but 75 in the office at the time, and some of them slightly poisoned.

Physicians said the gas was carbon monoxide, such as is found in the exhaust fumes from automobiles. The WPA offices are directly over a garage.

With the Unions

Women Milliners Push Their Fight Against Temporary Books with Wide Postcard Campaign Among A.F.L. Members

Thousands of postcards are being distributed to members of local American Federation of Labor unions to protest the issuance of "temporary" books to 100 members of the Millinery Union, Local 24. The cards, addressed to the executive board of Local 24, show a sample of the book which these 100 women have had for the past four years. The card reads:

"The unjustified practice of issuing Temporary Books in the Millinery Union, which deprives about 100 dues paying women workers of their fundamental rights, such as the right to attend local meetings, to vote or assume functions in the union or shop, is an injustice and a menace to the welfare of organized labor.

"As a member of the American Federation of Labor, I therefore appeal to you to discontinue this practice by restoring full democratic rights to the discriminated women workers."

Every union member should make sure to get a card and mail it to the officials of Local 24.

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WHO ARE THE "PEOPLE" HE REPRESENTS?

Without blinking an eyelash, newspapers write about District Attorneys representing the "People" in court cases. As part of that vague term, the "people," we object strenuously.

We notice that the case against five leaders of the Joint Council of Knitgoods Workers has been postponed to Jan. 21st. The "people" in this frame-up of union leaders are represented by Assistant District Attorney John J. Sullivan who investigated some phoney charge made by a couple of manufacturers, who don't like strikers and don't like to pay a living wage.

The union leaders, representing thousands of workers, demanded an investigation of the employers, and were ignored. Just who are the "people"?

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WHO'S GOT THE BUTTON? THEY ALL HAVE

Street Scenes: New York on Saturday. Two major demonstrations of workers. Winding up Broadway, thousands of striking seamen demonstrated for their demands. . . . Further uptown, WPA workers faced the bitter weather to put on a forceful demonstration against lay-offs. Over on the West Side, furriers congregated in union headquarters talking about the preparations for the 25th anniversary of the Furriers Joint Council. . . . Buttons are in fashion now. Thousands of New York workers walk by, proudly displaying buttons reading "I gave in defense of democracy in Spain." . . . Those big white buttons "I support the striking seamen" are also seen all over town.

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BAKERS WIN INCREASE—LABEL ON BREAD

Weekly wage increases of three dollars a week are nothing to be sneezed at. That's what the workers of the Finnish Cooperative Trading Association in Brooklyn have gained now that the two months negotiations conducted by Bakers Union, Local 3, have ended with a union contract. The label of the Bakery and Confectionary Workers International Union will now be on the bread made by the cooperative. Make sure you see the union label on all the bread you buy.

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BROOKLYN BUS DRIVERS MAKE STRIKE PLANS

Now that the East Side bus strike is over, with the men gaining union conditions, the Brooklyn bus drivers are planning similar action. The drivers of Brooklyn Bus Corporation, which belongs to the B.-M. T., have taken a strike vote for Dec. 16, if the company doesn't rehire 15 fired workers. The men are members of the Amalgamated Association of Electric Railway and Motor Coach Drivers, Local 1099.

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YOU GUESSED IT—THE WORKERS WERE FAVORED

If a judge doesn't like the verdict of a jury, he can set it aside, the Appellate Division has held. (Of course you've guessed it. The verdict was favorable to workers.)

The employees of the city's independent subway system succeeded in getting the Board of Aldermen to grant them $6 a day instead of 52 cents an hour. The raise, contested in the courts, was decided in favor of the workers, by the jury, but the judge put thumbs down on the verdict.

(Tip to the workers in the independent subway. Hurry up and organize, to insure higher wages and better working conditions.)

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DON'T FORGET—ITS WEDNESDAY NIGHT

Postscript. . . . Last but not least, there is the important event of the week. Don't forget the Madison Square Garden Wednesday night when East Coast and West Coast maritime strikes will be described by Harry Bridges, Pacific Coast leader and Joseph Curran, chairman of the Atlantic and Gulf ports strike strategy committee . . . and don't forget the $100,000 Daily and Sunday Worker drive.

Sun Shipyard Pickets Ready for Battle Today

Seamen and Shipyard Workers Mobilize Forces as C.I.O. Leader Demands Governor Guarantee Right to Picket Chester, Pa., Works

By Art Shields
(Daily Worker Staff Correspondent)

CHESTER, Pa., Dec. 13.—Tomorrow morning comes the show-down between the striking shipyard workers and seamen and Liberty Leaguer John G. Pew, president of the Sun Shipbuilding Co. Tomorrow—Monday—the pickets will be tramping the scene of "Pew's Massacre" at the foot of Morton Avenue, when Pew tries to open the yards again.

He dared not risk trying to bring in a night shift Friday, the day of the massacre, when James L. Young was killed and scores of others injured by speeding fire trucks, by lead pipes, billies and gas grenades.

Nor did he try to operate the yard Saturday . . . so intense was the feeling.

RIGHT TO PICKET

To make sure that the yards didn't open hundreds of shipyard workers and seamen again circled round and round in a giant ring in front of the plant.

As pickets are being assigned for weekend duty word comes from Governor Earle's offices that the State will guarantee the right of peaceful picketing at the Sun yard gates.

Earle's promise came in response to a demand wired by John Brophy, director of the C.I.O. (Committee for Industrial Organization), which is behind the strike.

Indicting local police and the sheriff, Brophy asked that the authority of the State be used to maintain "the right to picket and to prevent the maiming and murdering of our people."

ASKS GUILTY PUNISHED

He demanded also that guilty local officials be removed and punished."

These guilty local officials are tools of John G. Pew, the Sun shipyard magnate. He pulls the strings that move Mayor John Ward, Jr., Republican puppet, Police Chief Robinson and Fire Chief Calhoun, whose screaming fire truck ran down Peter Martain, a striker at the point of death now with a fractured skull.

A Negro shipyard striker beside me in the union hall after the massacre put the situation neatly.

A fire truck driver had just tried to excuse the firemen in a speech to the strikers. He said they came to the scene on a false alarm.

"When we got to Morton Avenue," he said, "our chief wanted to know 'who the hell pulled the fire box?'"

PEW PULLED IT

"Pew pulled it," reported the Negro.

"And I saw him," "And I," cried truck," shouted a white striker.

The driver, a plant foreman, tried to deny.

"And I saw him," "And I," cried out others.

There was a dangerous situation for a moment. The foreman shrank from those hundreds of men with tear-gassed reddened eyes, many with patched heads, who had just seen murder committed.

But union discipline triumped: "The strike committee will try him; we won't try him here," said Secretary Philip Van Gelder, and the fireman was allowed to make his get-away from the rear of the hall. His brazen attempt to test out the temper of the men for signs of weakness had failed.

WIVES PICKETING

Hatred of Pew and his stooges brought many strikers' wives to the shipyard street as the scabs came out of the mill the afternoon after the killing.

The women shouted their contempt of the cops and the top thugs who led the assault.

One shipyard worker's widow was there Friday morning, at the edge of the massacre scene, while the gas was blowing in white clouds a few yards away.

"Don't follow Pew's Skunks," she shouted to men mobilized behind the fink leaders as the column was pressing to the attack on the pickets.

"Shut up, woman," barked a thug, "you're a foreigner."

"I may be a foreigner," she replied, "but I'm not one of Pew's Skunks, like you."

The crowd laughed at the Skunk. "Tell it to him, Missus," a man shouted. . . . Most of that crowd, who had been mobilized to go back to work, didn't go through the line when the fire trucks cleared the way to the plant.

COURAGE OF PICKETS

Scenes from Pew's Massacre come popping into mind as I write. . . . More than the terror of screaming fire trucks, exploding gas grenades and flailing lead pipes I think of the courage of the pickets. That is of the vanguard of one hundred or more seamen and shipyard workers who kept their head and rallied their fellows as the going was the roughest.

I can yet see those dynamic seamen's leaders—Harry Green, chairman of the seamen's Strike Strategy Committee; Christman, a picket captain, and others—as they ran back and forth inspiring their men.

You couldn't see them for gas, much of the time; the blinding gas in your eyes and the billowing white clouds everywhere. But those boys managed to see—"We had to," said Green later.

There were brave shipyard leaders too, like Charley Renner, whom Christman saved with a football rush, as he went down in front of charging feet that would have fractured his skull and ruptured his guts.

COUNT THEIR WOUNDED

Both Christman and Green are big enough for football players, but they are playing in a bigger game.

Sheriff Peeflin wants to get the seamen off the picket line, but shipyard workers will not permit this. They both are striking against the "hot" ship in Pew's drydock.

Today strike committees are one by one bailing out the 21 pickets arrested Friday. Bail has been reduced from $2,500 to $1,000 each.

And they are counting their wounded. James L. Young, 65 years old and father of several sons, is dead. . . . "Shock," said Chester Hospital, after doctors reported great bumps on his head and policemen admitted he had been hit with a brick.

Peter Martain, 42, one of the pickets in the vanguard, is in a desperate condition with a fractured skull and internal injuries.

He may die, and several others may too.

Herman Sauber, Harold King and George Lawrence have skull fractures.

An emergency operation was performed on King.

Michael Kowal is paralyzed with a spinal injury.

STILL FIGHTING

Many others have head injuries; several more skull fractures may be found.

Twenty-seven were treated by Chester Hospital doctors and volunteer hospital physicians. Several times that many received various injuries, which they didn't report for fear of police consequences.

Hundreds were more or less seriously affected by tear gas.

But tear gas the boys could take. . . . It's no joke. Thirty hours later I for one still have a tear gas headache. But tear gas couldn't stop those shipyard and marine pickets. Only the fire apparatus broke the line, and the picket line is back again.

The great majority of the several thousand shipyard strikers, as well as hundreds of seamen, are still in the struggle.

Every Knock Is a Boost—For CIO Man

(Daily Worker Midwest Bureau)

CHICAGO, Ill., Dec. 13.—C. H. Smith was a candidate for president of the "Operators Club of South Works," a Carnegie-Illinois plant. Among his opponents was Jim Stewart. The Operators Club has 100 members, among the highest paid men in the steel plant's 14,000 employes.

Smith went about the plant, canvassing every one of the operators. He told them that Stewart is a "CIO man" and "member of the executive board of the Amalgamated Association of Iron Steel and Tin Workers." Smith pledged himself to strong cooperation with the company.

So Stewart got two-thirds of the votes, winning in the primary, without the need of a run-off election.

Smith must have had company permission to do his canvassing, for Rule VIII forbids anyone going about the mill without it, on pain of discharge.

Miners Revolt Against Paper And Policies

'Progressive Miner' Held Reflecting Personal Opinion of Editors

(Daily Worker Midwest Bureau)

HILLSBORO, Ill., Dec. 13.—Revolt against the fascist minded editorial policies of the "Progressive Miner," is growing among members of the Progressive Miners of America.

A resolution was passed recently by the Hillsboro local, No. 42, of the P. M. A. here demanding a change of policy to "make our paper a paper of the rank and file, or that it be discontinued."

The resolution points out that the Progressive Miner, at present, does not reflect the will or wishes of the membership of the Progressive Miners of America, but only the personal opinions of the editors and the savage hatred they feel for the United Mine Workers of America. Local 42 asks more space in the paper for rank and file opinions and views, and for "articles of an educational and informative nature, rather than using the same space to items of a malicious and slanderous nature pertaining to rival organizations, which is neither beneficial to us nor detrimental to them."

The resolution declares that the PMA is "based on racial, religious and political tolerance" and the editors of Progressive Miner must stop using their paper to spread intolerance and their own private political opinions. In the last election, the editors supported Lemke and Landon, but the PMA membership voted overwhelmingly for Roosevelt.

Similar resolutions are expected from many locals, and the largest PMA local No. 1, has refused to pay its quarterly per capita until the editorial policy is changed.

The revolt against the paper is a first sign of a deeper revolt against the reactionary clique that rules the union, and a move toward closer cooperation of all Illinois miners in the fight against loss of jobs through mechanization, and lower working conditions.

Porters Open Fourth Annual Celebration

A. Phillip Randolph to Speak at Philadelphia on Convention

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Dec. 13.—The fourth annual week of celebration of the Philadelphia local of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters opened today wih a mass meeting.

A. Philip Randolph, international president, and M. P. Webster, first vice-president, will speak at the John Wesley M.E. Church on Holly St. on the American Federation of Labor convention in Tampa.

Local unions and leaders of numerous civic and fraternal organizations have been invited to attend the opening of the week of activities.

The Auxiliary Women's Economic Council will hold a Women's Day tomorrow.

A symposium on the "Negro Worker," under the auspices of the local, will be held Tuesday night at the Y.M.C.A.

9 Elizabeth Stores Sign

ELIZABETH, N. J., Dec. 13.—Nine clothing stores here have finally had to sign closed shop agreements with Local 195 of the Journeymen Tailors Union.

Lettuce Strike Is Called Off In Stockton

Union Announces Gains in Wages, Conditions, Maps New Fight

STOCKTON, Cal., Dec. 13.—The celery strike was called off by a vote of the members of the Fruit and Vegetable Workers Union here after a considerable number of gains had been secured.

In announcing the end of the strike, the union cited wage raises of five to ten cents an hour and much improvement in working conditions. The union announced it would "continue to drive for higher wages and shorter hours as other crops come to maturity throughout the Sacramento-San Joaquin Valley."

Sixteen celery strikers arrested in Lodi, Cal., for "trespass" were refused a change of venue to Stockton. Judge J. H. Sulkmore gave as an excuse that "in Stockton they might be brought before a jury of union men."

Sulkmore finally permitted the trial to be moved to Lockford, where he said, "It is a grain growing region and therefore likely to give these defendants an unprejudiced trial."

Daily Worker

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MONDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1936

To Coastwise Delegates: WELCOME!

• The men "who go down to the sea in ships" are meeting in New York today.

They are not on the ships now; they are in the front of the long picket lines on the Atlantic and Gulf waterfronts.

The coastwise conference of the striking maritime workers, which opens in Manhattan Lyceum this morning, is more than a gathering to push forward a great walkout. It represents the rebirth of fighting unionism on the ships and on the docks of the East and Gulf seaboard.

Representatives of the union men from every Atlantic and Gulf port will be present, to lend their counsel and cooperation to victory of the maritime workers in the East and in the West.

Such a victory—out of the splendid solidarity shown in this strike—will have its reverberations throughout the labor movement. Strong, effective unions at all our ports, at the gates of the nation, will give a mighty impetus to stronger unionism throughout the entire country.

We welcome the delegates to the coastwise conference, to New York. We pledge them full support and cooperation. All labor can do likewise: **support, in that generous relief which can aid victory; cooperation, in a huge union attendance at Madison Square Garden on Wednesday night to hail the solidarity of the West Coast with the East and Gulf.**

It is appropriate that this solidarity is symbolized by the appearance of Harry Bridges, militant maritime union leader of the Pacific, as a speaker at this great meeting.

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Will Reaction Find That Back Door Key?

• Is there, after all, a back door to the White House?

The National Association of Manufacturers believes there is. Last week its die-hard members tried to find this little, secret entrance. That is the "why" of their ardent wooing of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Before their sessions had closed at the Waldorf-Astoria, these veterans in labor hatred had penned a love note to the White House. This they called "The Declaration of Principles of American Industry."

There was much flowery verbiage therein and many new-found phrases. "Industry pledges its cooperation to government," it said, "in the promotion of social and economic progress." As plain as day, these words sang out to Roosevelt: "Please give us the pass-key to the little back entrance!"

They wish to sneak in the same old luggage which previously was marked "Landon." A few choice morsels from their "Declaration" will suffice, to indicate what lies beneath their flowery language.

1. **"Government competition with private industry is injurious and unsound."** There, in these words, is the old attack on WPA. There is the counsel to sabotage TVA. There is the plea for no nationalization of the munitions industry. There is the old hymn of hate against the opening of the idle factories, to put the unemployed to work.

2. **"Provision for the unemployed must be on the basis that will not make this provision preferred to gainful employment."** There, in this slur on America's unemployed, is the old cry against some measure of decent wages on WPA projects. There is the revival of the New Jersey starvation plan. There is the putrid Liberty League program which Roosevelt, we were told, "had just begun to fight."

3. **Private plans for "meeting problems arising from old age, sickness, disability and unemployment" should be "encouraged by legislation."** There, in this statement, is the cheap effort to undermine federal social security legislation. There is the old reactionary attempt to give a status to those fake plans of the employers, which are breeding grounds for company unionism. There is the plan again to put a rope around the neck of the wage-worker—through these private "social security" rackets which should long ago have been abolished.

4. **"If too large a share of income from production is drawn by taxation, production costs rise, consumption slows down, and the constructive efforts of expanding economic activity upon our standard of living is seriously retarded."** There we have the same old bugaboo, raised again to stop taxation of the rich. The statements are false. If they are hearkened to by the White House, they mean an attack on that very taxation of the wealthy and of the great corporation surpluses which should now be increased and not decreased.

5. **Last, but not least, there is the repetition of the Liberty League plank against trade unionism, to which reference was made on Saturday.**

At Madison Square Garden, on election eve, Roosevelt proclaimed boldly that the White House key would stay in his pocket. Will he now surrender it to this gang of pirates of the National Association of Manufacturers? Will he listen to their blandishments?

Labor cannot rely on what Roosevelt may answer. Labor can be aroused, rather, to its own strength. The National Association of Manufacturers has let out of the bag the tricks that it intends to play. For Labor there is but one rejoinder: to unite its own forces, in state and national legislative conferences—leading to independent political action—which will immediately assure that the people's mandate of Nov. 3 is carried out.

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Woodring Would Hog-Tie Labor in War

• Secretary of War Woodring's revelation before the recent Nye Committee's hearing of a "labor draft" and the scrapping of social legislation in the event of this country being involved in war, throws light on what the American jingoes hope to achieve.

Utilizing the fears of a new slaughter and the real danger of another world war, the most reactionary section of American capitalism, and the hide-bound reactionaries in the army and on top of it, are working now to hog-tie labor.

Secretary Woodring works on the view that war is absolutely inevitable and that therefore labor must necessarily be subjugated and straight-jacketed to the needs of war.

The fact is that with the growing factors for peace, a real peace policy pursued by the American government, as demanded by the mandate of the American people in the last election, can avert war.

Thus a struggle for peace is at the same time a battle against the American jingoists who for the most part not only strive for increased war preparations but side with the general fascist view that war must come and nothing can stop it.

The big monopolists, who know Woodring's leanings towards the most reactionary methods, count on him now to work up anti-labor plans under the guise of "national defense."

The exposure of Woodring's reactionary scheme should spur American labor to more intensified activity to stave off war, to line this country up with the peace forces of the world, so that the anti-labor schemes can no more be put into effect in this country than the fascist plans for the domination of the world.

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Buenos Aires Results Don't Jibe with Speeches

• After some sharp clashes, a four-point general resolution for the preservation of peace has come out of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace at Buenos Aires.

The weakest phase of the conference is the absence of an independent People's Peace Movement in this country which would bring pressure on the U. S. delegates to carry out the mandate given to the Roosevelt government for more positive peace action.

Described by newspaper commentators as "a collective security pact," the measures adopted in Buenos Aires thus far do not go much beyond a general wish for peace.

Secretary Hull, for example, in his speech praising the results, says:

"It omits the question of determining the aggressor in any conflict that breaks out."

Failure to define the aggressor, of course, can be a fatal weakness in a collective security pact.

The results do not at all jibe with the fine passages in speeches of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull. Warnings to the fascist war-mongers do not have their realization in the final resolution adopted.

Furthermore, the fact that the Brazilian delegation, spokesman for fascist dictators in Europe, could put its OK on the resolution, is an indication that the war inciters consider it pliable enough to be twisted out of all significance for peace at a crucial moment.

Yet Secretary Hull insists that the example of Buenos Aires will be "a highly significant contribution to world peace."

The broad generalizations of Buenos Aires, growing out of the people's demand for some peace action, of themselves will not secure the peace of the Americas nor aid to stand off world aggression.

But if they are followed up with organization of the people in the 21 Latin-American countries and in the United States for the maintenance of peace then some substantial results can be achieved.

World Front

By HARRY GANNES

• The international situation is becoming more favorable to a victory of the People's Front government of Spain.

That accounted for the "plebiscite" proposal of the British and French foreign ministers, and it also explains the flat refusal by the Spanish government.

Talks of truce, armistice or plebiscite always become thickest when General Franco's losses are greatest.

Like the non-intervention scheme, the plebiscite plan was originally conceived by Sir Anthony Eden, British foreign secretary, and supported by Yvon Delbos, French minister of foreign affairs.

Britain's idea is to bring about a stalemate of the fascist and anti-fascist forces. Eden believes that would give Britain, with the strongest hand in conducting such a plebiscite, the balance of power in Spain.

The legitimate government has a crushing reply to the plebiscite offer: When the government was in control of the Gil Robles fascist forces in alliance with the centrist bourgeoisie, headed by Alejandro Lerroux, on February 16, 1936 a plebiscite was held with the election machinery weighted in the interest of the fascists. Nevertheless, the answer was an overwhelming victory for the Spanish People's Front.

It was to destroy that plebiscite that the military bandits at the head of the army, the Spanish Fascists, with their foreign aid, and the feudal aristocracy, all united to wage the most ferocious civil war.

No other plebiscite is necessary. The will of the Spanish people has been clearly and irrefutably expressed. The criminals who have murdered hundreds of thousands to "correct" it must now completely capitulate or be driven from the country.

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When the issue was put up to the Soviet Union, the Soviet government, instead of flatly rejecting the idea "in principle," answered the London and Paris proposals by a number of absolute conditions which must be first carried out before a "plebiscite" could even be discussed. Those conditions demanded by the U.S.S.R., if fulfilled, would lead to a complete military defeat of the fascists, and would in practice have sidetracked the real objective of the British in proposing their scheme.

Among the conditions advanced by the U.S.S.R. were a complete stoppage of the shipment of arms and men by the fascists to Spain, and the setting up of a neutral committee in ports of entry to Spain to guarantee that no arms or foreign armies were transported to Spain.

With General Franco rapidly weakening—the original cause for the plebiscite idea, because London did not want a complete People's Front victory—the prevention of further arms and troop shipments to Spain would give the legitimate government, under any conditions, the power ultimately to establish its unquestioned rule over the whole country.

None realized this better than the fascists themselves. Both Hitler and Mussolini—unofficially, of course—refused to accept the British and French proposal. Their hope of victory in Spain lay not in leaving matters as they were, and not even in a British move to stalemate the forces in Spain, but by increased arms and troop shipments to General Franco.

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For example, the frank fascist view is transmitted by Sonia Tomara, New York Herald Tribune correspondent in Rome, who on Saturday cabled:

"Rome officials do not attach much importance, either, to the Franco-British proposal of mediation in the Spanish conflict. Italy is determined not to tolerate the existence of a Leftist government near her own shores, and prefers to see the rebels continue their fight. But she wants to leave the Spanish belligerents the responsibility of rejecting the mediation offer, which it is said in official circles here, is being 'examined' by competent Italian officials."

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Thus the diplomatic exchange on the "plebiscite" offer rebounds to the advantage of the Spanish government by further exposing the foreign fascist invasion of Spain.

Sprung simultaneously with the meeting of the League Counucil which considered Spain's warning that the fascists were using the Spanish civil war to begin a new world war, it had a favorable effect on the latter body.

The legitimate government of Spain was virtually recognized as the only government in Spain, a sharp rebuff to the fascists. And the whole substance of the resolution at least paraphrased the demands of Spain and the Soviet Union.

Not only what is happening in Geneva, but in Shanghai, Shensi, Tokyo, London, Buenos Aires, and in many other places, is swelling the favorable international tide for Spain.

QUESTIONS and ANSWERS

QUESTION: Why do they say "The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic" in the new constitution of the Soviet Union, but none of the other republics are called "federated"? —B.F.

ANSWER: The reasons are mainly historical, without any particular political significance at present. The Soviet Union is made up of republics which grew up by revolution of their inhabitants against native rulers, landlord and capitalist classes. Each republic named itself. The names are quite similar, because the principles and Communist leadership in the revolution were similar, and even before their formal treaty by which they established the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (July 6, 1923) there were close bonds between them.

But there was and is no law as to uniformity of names. It was natural that the first, largest republic, the Russian, predominantly Russian but with many smaller nationalities incorporated and most of them entirely surrounded by territory occupied by Russians, should put the word "federated" in its name. The other republics, at first three, later six, and now ten, although in some cases they also included a few "autonomous republics" and "autonomous areas" did not think it necessary to use the word "federated."

There was one exception, in addition to the R.S.F.S.R., that was the "Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic" made up of the Azerbaidjan, Georgian and Armenian Soviet Socialist Republics. This exception disappeared when the new constitution was formed because the three republics took equal and direct affiliation with the Union, and the federation was abolished.

Whether or not the word "federated" occurs in the name of a republic makes absolutely no difference in its form of government or its relation to the other republics or to the central government.

ALL OUT WEDNESDAY! by Gropper

Peace Parley Gets Mexican Plan For Action Against Aggressor

(By United Press)

BUENOS AIRES, Dec. 13.—An Inter-American Court of Justice and an arms embargoes against aggressors in the Western Hemisphere, were proposed to the Inter-American Peace Conference today by Mexico.

The suggestion was a second version of Mexico's earlier proposal before the Pan-American Conference at Montevideo, but differed in that it would prohibit export of all war materials to aggressor nations. Mexico will submit its new plan to the next Pan-American Conference at Lima.

Scrutiny of the Mexican formula for Inter-American peace, was considered by delegates individually, since no session of the conference was held today. Delegates rested after their adoption in committee of conventions for maintenance and preservation of peace and machinery for non-intervention.

MEXICAN PLAN

Mexico's plan would:

1. Coordinate and perfect existing peace treaties into a single document.

2. Create an Inter-American Court of Justice to settle disputes.

The document would guarantee non-recognition of territory acquired by coercion, prohibit armed forces to collect public debts, and create a series of multi-lateral reciprocal trade agreements giving Western Hemisphere nations trade preference over Europe and Asia.

ARMS BAN

The "arms embargo" clause would prohibit export to any aggressor any war armaments or war materials, including petroleum, coal and steel. This section specifically prevents granting of financial credits to any aggressor.

The Inter-American Court would be composed of one member from each Western nation, including Canada. The court would embrace a tribunal, and a court of appeals, components of each body being drawn by lot.

Permanent location of this court at a place agreeable to all nations would be decided later.

TO WEIGH TREATIES

Under jurisdiction of the court would be the interpretation of treaties, determination of violations of international law, the levy of reparations on violators of international obligations, and arbitration of disputes.

Permanent commissions of conciliation would be set up, each composed of five members, all signatories would be obliged to submit controversies to these commissions, and if settlement fails here, the question would be considered by an arbitration tribunal comprised of two members from each disputing nation and a fifth person agreeable to the other four.

The commercial section provides for a 60-day agreement of signatories not to increase customs house duties for merchandise of European or Asiatic origin. During this time a permanent commercial agreement would be drafted.

TRADE TREATIES

The governments would be bound to negotiate commercial reciprocal treaties or modify existing commitments so that American nations would be favored by all signatories.

Countries unable to agree immediately to the proposal would be asked to submit their reasons to the forthcoming Lima session of the Pan-American Conference, and that assembly then would name three delegates to recommend action within three months which would terminate the stalemate.

Signatories would also agree to create a permanent organization for the study of commercial relations among American States, and to submit initiatives intended to intensify cordial relations among countries in the Western Hemisphere.

Letters from Our Readers

A Farmer Who Knows

Kindred, N. D.

Editor, Daily Worker:

Why does the farmer turn to Communism? Communist agitators, you say.

No, far from it. Few farmers have ever seen, leave alone heard, a Communist agitator or read Communist literature, but, on the other hand, they have heard and seen capitalist spellbinders all their lives, and read their spouting kept press, as well as seen and lived in and practiced the capitalist system, and their common sense and reason tells them that there must be a better way.

Oh yes, says the conservative, hard-headed skeptic, your socialism sounds good in theory, but it is not practical. There is no country that has offered such opportunities as this country of ours, and, indeed, it has; there is no country probably that has given such unrestrained and unhampered freedom to the selfish and unscrupulous exploitation of the national wealth by a few as has this country's government, and the

results are most obvious, the most unequal distribution of the country's wealth in the hands of the few with an almost unparalleled poverty and distress among the masses. And what is the condition of the farmers? Their farms have mostly been taken from them by loan and insurance companies while they are trying to eke out a living by renting or going on relief or dole.

Let Them Hear

New York, N. Y.

Editor, Daily Worker:

On Sunday, Dec. 6, at 4 P.M., on Station WLWL I heard a Dr. Carnetti from the Knights of Columbus speaking about "Communist organization among the youth." He spoke about the program of the American Student Union, the American Youth Congress, the Paulkans, the Young Communist League, the Young Circle League, and he linked them all up with the Third International at Moscow.

He said that all of these organizations got their orders from Moscow, and asked radio listeners to write to the Knights of Columbus, care of Universal Broadcasting Co., Station WLWL, and state their opinion of such broadcasts. They will continue them every Sunday on Station WLWL at 4 P.M.

I suggest that the Station should be flooded with telegrams and letters protesting against such broadcasts.

M. G.

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For Those in the Front Lines

New York, N. Y.

Editor, Daily Worker:

Here is $25. Will you please put it where it will do the most good in the Spanish situation, to help save the Republic and save the people from fascism?

I wish it were more and yet maybe it can be repeated sooner. I guess there is quite a helpless feeling grips us at times when we realize how great are the real forces of reaction, and we then marvel at the fortitude of those in the front lines carrying the brunt of the united front. So this is a bit to cheer and aid in their valiant struggle.

How can the people of this country be made to see the significance of the Spanish situation in American affairs? AMERICAN LEGIONNAIRE.

READER-CORRESPONDENTS!

SPEAK FOR YOURSELVES.

LET THE DAILY WORKER STAFF KNOW YOU'RE READY TO DEFEND YOUR CORNER OF THE EDITORIAL PAGE.

A PENNY VOTES FOR "LETTERS FROM OUR READERS"!

Utilities Rig Costs to Gouge 'Fair Return'

Regulation by Public Service Commission Does Not Check Large Scale Fleecing by 'Estimate of Reproduction'

By Adam Lapin

(ARTICLE III)

(This is the third of a series on the utility racket in New York.)

Whatever else you can accuse utilities of, you can't charge them with being petty chiselers.

Those utility "widows and orphans" have the business of wholsale overcharging of the consumer down to a fine art. And give them credit for imagination, plenty of it. The utility industry is one of the most imaginative in the world.

As a matter of fact, the way your bills are determined encourages the use of that very expensive imagination.

The principle of regulation by the Public Service Commission in the various states, including New York, is that the company is entitled to a fair return on the total value of its property.

WHAT THE "FAIR RETURN" IS

The Public Service Commission can determine what is and what isn't a "fair return." But it has very little power in determining how that "fair return" is arrived at.

That makes the problem of large-scale fleecing of the public through high rates boil down to two major problems: first, how to get the total property to look as big as possible; and second, how to inflate the company operating expenses.

In estimating the value of their property, the companies are permitted to work out what is called a reproduction estimate.

This, of course, is not what the companies actually paid for their property. It is rather what they would pay for their property if it were wiped out by an earthquake or some other disaster.

ESTIMATE OF "REPRODUCTION"

The Edison system has this practice boiled down to a fine point. New York Edison includes in its estimate of reproduction cost a little $7,000,000 item, don't forget that you pay for it in the end.

This means that if all the employes of New York Edison were to be wiped out by small pox or byan air fleet, it would have the cost of $7,000,000 to break in a new staff.

But, of course, no one is wiping out New York Edison's staff. There is hardly much danger of the entire outfit dying out at once. Nevertheless the consumer pays for this virtually impossible contingency.

PAID FOR JUNKED VEHICLES

Another example of this sort of practice was a $102,000 item charged in by Consolidated Gas, before its name was changed, for discharged and useless vehicles fit only for the junk heap.

One of the most vicious practices of the utilities is that of over-writing or over-capitalizing its property. The New York Power Authority reported to Governor Lehman in 1935 that the Consolidated system inflated its capital account by at least $279,000,000.

Carlisle himself said that he was willing to cut $59,000,000 off the capital account—a clear admission of inflation.

Remember, while all these millions are being juggled around, that the companies are permitted to compute rates on the basis of a fair return on its capitalization—which means a fair return from unrestricted imagination.

OPERATING "EXPENSE"

Another juicy item of profit is this: public service commissions can regulate the rate of profit made by the companies, but they can't regulate the operating expenses, a sizeable item in computing what a "fair profit" is.

The Long Island Lighting Co. managed to get the consumers to pay for an extended fight against rate reductions.

In other words, consumers were forced to finance legal action against themselves to the tune of $1,500,000 over a five-year period.

The consumers won the fight at last, but that $1,500,000 came out of their bills. And then, of course, they never recovered the $6,250,000 in the old rates which they were paying while the legal battle was being waged in the courts.

PAY FOR COMPANY UNION

Then the consumer also pays for items such as membership fees, club expenses and donations to charitable organizations.

All that this highfalutin item amounts to very frequently is that the consumer is given the dubious privilege of financing company union, their dues and their social functions.

You paid for this item in 1935 to the tune of more than $600,000.

Much as it hurts to say this, it doesn't appear as if those utility "widows and orphans" need your sympathy.

They seem to have done all too well for themselves already.

See "What's On" Column

International Cafeteria
50 EAST 13th STREET
- Clean, Healthful Atmosphere
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Higher Wages Is Cure, Chicago Tuberculosis Institute Declares

CHICAGO, Ill., Dec. 13.—The cure for tuberculosis is higher wages, the Chicago Tuberculosis Institute declared in a sales appeal for its Christmas seals. Tuberculosis is six times greater among unskilled workers, who live in tenements, than among professionals whose incomes provide them good food and quarters.

The death rate among doctors, lawyers, and engineers is 28 per hundred thousand. Among unskilled workers, the rate is 183 per 100,000. Domestic servants, laborers and teamsters fall in this classification.

"Few figures reflect more accurately the influence of occupations, income and social position in American community life than these dealing with tuberculosis, the Institute says.

It is trying to solve this problem with radio broadcasts, health talks and motion pictures. These are handed out through industrial establishments that pay such low wages their workers have to live in bug-infested, badly ventilated quarters and live on an insufficient diet.

WOMEN PUSH CHICAGO WAR ON GAS RATES

Official Negotiations Are Stalled Until June—Conference Called

(Daily Worker Midwest Bureau)

CHICAGO, Ill., Dec. 13.—The war against a raise in gas rates goes on, though the official negotiations are stalled until June. Housewives, on whose stoves the gas raise will throw a 50 per cent fuel rise, are building up the protest in all parts of the city.

The 34th Ward Branch of the Conference Against the High Cost of Living has called a meeting, and the alderman has promised to attend it. The meeting will be held in the Esther Falkenstein Settlement House, Dec. 16. The Settlement House and the Women's Civic League are sponsoring the meeting. P-TA groups and other women's groups have been invited.

Another meeting is being arranged on the South Side, and a group of women in the Women's Auxiliary of the Veterans of Foreign Wars is trying to get their organization to conduct another "open hearing" on the subject of gas and the company that provides it to Chicago households.

The Conference Against the High Cost of Living wants to stack up the protests till they guarantee that there will be no rise in gas rates. Especially, they oppose the present rise schemes, which would sock the kitchen stove and spare the big industrial gas ovens.

SCHENECTADY G.E. WORKERS VOTE ON UNION

Company Union's Finish Expected in Ballot Held by Board

SCHENECTADY, N. Y., Dec. 13.—Thousands of General Electric Company employes will march to the polls here Tuesday to vote the company union out of existence and establish the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America as their sole bargaining agent.

The occasion will be a National Labor Relations Board poll, initiated by Local 301, U. E. and R. W. of A., which has been fighting for such a poll since last September.

The local has a large membership among the G. E. employes but the company has refused recognition on general questions, insisting on handling such issues through the management - controlled Workers' Council.

Although hampered by this company policy, the local has won many departmental and individual wage and hour gains and, recently, because of union pressure G. E. decided to pay off a 6 per cent profit-sharing "bonus" three months early.

An intensive campaign is under way to win an impressive union victory in the election. Thousands of leaflets have been and are being distributed at the works, union buttons flourish everywhere and flying squadrons are visiting each of the more than 100 buildings.

Twenty-three polling places have been designated for the poll and two watchers for the union, two for the company union and one government man will be stationed at each to insure secrecy and freedom from intimidation.

WGY, Schenectady radio station, refused to sell the union time to broadcast an address by Leo Jandreau, president of the local, giving the union's position on the election.

The G. E. Works Council is one of the oldest company unions in existence. It was established 12 years ago after General Electric employes had overwhelmingly voted down an employe representation plan in a company poll.

BROOKLYN CONFERENCE ON SPAIN TONIGHT

A conference, called in the name of the Brooklyn Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and initiated by the Brooklyn Boro Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism, is being held tonight at the Johnson Building at 8-12 Nevins Street at 8:00 P.M., Brooklyn.

A call has been sent to numerous trade unions, fraternal organizations, and church groups. The purpose is to coordinate the work of various organizations in aiding Spaniah democracy, and to carry on a really effective campaign by involving those groups which have not as yet become aware of the pressing need for aiding Spain.

Credentials from many organizations representing thousands of members, including the Ministers Union, many Brooklyn trade unions, fraternal groups, and religious organizations have been received. Since this conference is the first of its kind, it will serve to formulate the program as well as the activities of the Brooklyn Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

Rabbi Harry Halpern of the East Midwood Jewish Center will act as chairman of the meeting. Dr. Cory of the Ministers Union and Mr. Solomonick who is head of the Trade Union Department of the American League Against War and Fascism, will be the principal speakers.

WHAT'S ON

Philadelphia, Pa.

Doggie Roast and Turkey, Saturday, Dec. 19, 8:30 P.M. at 1306 North 7th St. Adm. 25c. Good time assured.

Newark, N. J.

Dine! Wine! Dance! Lift the lid at New Year's Eve Cabaret and floor show at Kruger's Hall. Ausp.: C. P. of Newark.

Chicago, Ill.

Joseph Freeman, author, editor, speaks on "Spain and the Middle Class" at the Capitol Building Auditorium, State and Randolph Sts. Sunday evening, at 8. Ausp.: Friends of New Masses. Sunday, Dec. 20.

CLASSIFIED

PERSONAL

DEWEY: Please communicate with your wife at same address.

ROOMS FOR RENT

CROTONA PARK NO., 787. Furnished room; reasonable. Weekdays, 6-8 P.M., Saturday, Sunday, 10 A.M.-3 P.M. (TRemont 2-9044. Apt. 4-D).

2ND AVE., 159 (Apt. 19). Furnished, large, front, all improvements, reasonable.

CAR WANTED

CAR needed for Buffalo territory to assist in carrying on the Daily Worker drive. Anyone who has a car to donate for Daily Worker activity in Buffalo, please communicate with Harry Lichtenstein, New York Daily Worker Office, 50 E. 13th St., Room 291. AL. 4-1784.

HELP WANTED

YOUNG MAN, deliver Daily, Sunday Worker to homes. Good opportunity for hustler. Must live Washington Heights or vicinity. Apply Room 201, 50 E. 13th St.

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For Descriptive Catalogue write to the School office,
35 East 12th Street, New York City

NEWS OF STAGE AND SCREEN

New Heart Throb

Robert Taylor, Garbo's new leading man in "Camille," opening here shortly, as he appears in work-aday clothes, minus costumes and doctors' uniforms.

Nona Phipps Quits Hollywood For New Theatre School Career

Wampas Baby Star Finds Success at That End of the Rainbow Which Leads Into the Future

By BEN COMPTON

Smiling, red-haired, Nona Phipps, may not be typical of all the students who are attending the New Theatre School, where actors, technicians and skilled craftsman for the social theatre are being developed. But Nona, former Wampas Baby star, featured Fox Film player and Broadway ingenue, by her serious presence for the past two years in New Theatre School classes, indicates the interest that a certain type of young professional theatre worker has taken in the development of the social drama.

Just to prove that her interest in the new theatre is not without its lighter side, Nona, who in addition to having considerable theatrical experience, i. a native Honoluluan, will perform an authentic Samoan dance at the annual New Theatre New Years' Eve Frolic at Palm Gardens this year. Appropriately enough, with the Palm Gardens setting and Nona as the feature attraction, New Theatre is dubbing the affair a "Swingtime In Samoa" frolic.

Nona Phipps first came to New York several years ago from Hollywood where she had been along with Martha Sleeper and Barbara Kent as a Wampas Baby star. Featured in over a dozen Fox films with such stars as Charles Farrell and Janet Gaynor, and in such outstanding films as Murnau's "Sunrise," Nona left Hollywood to play the ingenue lead in the Broadway hit "Once In a Life Time," the Kaufman-Moss Hart production.

Begins On Broadway

Following upon her run with "Once in a Life Time," Nona travelled to Europe where she studied theatre for a year and then returned to America resolved to continue her theatre work. Shortly after her return, Nona appeared as the ingenue in the Broadway musical, "Knock On Wood," and at the same time through the pages of New Theatre magazine became interested in the new theatre movement.

Shortly thereafter, Nona went on the road with a Shakespearean road company, playing in "Hamlet," "Julius Caesar," "Macbeth," and performing in small rural communities, before audiences of common people, many of whom had never had an opportunity to see legitimate drama before. Nona became more than ever convinced of the importance of the theatre as a social force, and determined to return to work in the new theatre movement.

On the closing of the tour she rejoined the school as a member of the Day Studio, where she now is a full time student. Her performance at the New Theatre New Years' Eve Ball will no doubt amaze many of her fellow students who have regarded Nona only as a serious theatre scholar, without knowing of her background or of the fact that she lived in Honolulu until she was sixteen years old and is thoroughly acquainted with all the native dances.

Nona's career has been a busy one for a young girl and it might well be summarized by the comment of one of her fellow students who said: "From Honolulu to Hollywood and Hamlet to the New Theatre movement is some jump." With which we can all agree.

SEAMEN'S STRIKE HOLDS UP FILM

The seamen's strike is likely to hold up Samuel Goldwyn's long-planned production of "Hurricane," since the producer is unable to find a crew and workers who will sail his ship to the South Seas. Union men refuse to have anything to do with the sailing, and even if a scab crew were gotten, the longshoremen would refuse to load the equipment. Since the end of January is also the end of "script" weather, it is likely that the entire production will have to be held over for a year.

The Ruling Clawss —*by Redfield*

"Hello Mom! It was a great fight!"

Win Prizes by Choosing Best 1936 Films In the Daily Worker's Letter Contest

'Movie Guest Tickets to Be Awarded to Winners

By CHARLES E. DEXTER

If you are a movie fan—and who isn't—you will jump into the race for first prize in the Daily Worker's Best Pictures of 1936 Contest.

A letter—of not more than 100 words—and a list of what you believe to be the ten best films of the season may win you 20 free guest tickets, two each to the ten leading motion picture theatres of Broadway.

Sixty-four free guest tickets will be awarded by the Daily Worker on the basis of the best letter sent in.

We will help you jog your memory by publishing every day from today until the end of the contest on Jan. 2, 1937, lists of films which were shown during 1936.

You may send in as many lists and as many letters as you please. There is no restriction.

Letters will be considered wholly according to merit and not in the order of their receipt.

Participating in the contest are the following theatres:

Cameo, Capitol, Criterion, 55th st. Playhouse, Filmarte, Paramount, Rivoli, Roxy, Strand, Music Hall.

If you are the first prize winner, you will receive two guest tickets to each of these houses. Second prize winner will receive two guest tickets to five Broadway houses. Third prize is three pairs of guest tickets to three different houses. Fourth prize is three pairs of guest tickets to three other houses. Fifth to fourteenth prizes consist of guest tickets to one of the ten theatres.

Here is all you have to do. On any piece of paper, write the names of the ten best films shown in Broadway houses during the year beginning January 1, 1936. In addition, write not more than 100 words explaining why the film you choose as the best picture of the year should receive the Daily Worker Award for Merit.

Daily Worker Best Picture of 1936 Contest

CONDITIONS

1. Choose the ten best motion pictures of 1936. Send your selection to the Movie Contest Editor, together with a letter of not more than 100 words, telling why you believe the first picture of your choice was the best picture and should receive the Daily Worker Award for Merit.
2. In choosing the ten best pictures, include four serious films, four comedies or musical films and two foreign-made films.
3. You may use for this purpose this coupon, or you may write the list on any piece of paper and mail it to the Movie Contest Editor.
4. The winners will be judged according to the merit of their letters.
5. The contest is open to all, whether readers of the Daily and Sunday Worker or not. It is not open, however, to members of the staffs of the Daily and Sunday Worker, or members of their families.
6. Prizes will be awarded as follows:

First Prize: Two guest tickets to each of the following theatres: Cameo, Capitol, Criterion, 55th St. Playhouse, Filmarte, Music Hall, Paramount, Rivoli, Roxy, Strand.

Second Prize: Two guest tickets to the following: Capitol, Music Hall, Paramount, Rivoli, Roxy.

Third Prize: Two guest tickets to the following: Cameo, Criterion, Filmarte.

Fourth Prize: Two guest tickets to the following: Strand, 55th St. Playhouse.

Fifth Prize: Two tickets to the Music Hall; 6th Prize: Two tickets to the Roxy; 7th Prize: Two tickets to the Paramount; 8th Prize: Two tickets to the Capitol; 9th Prize: Two tickets to the Cameo; 10th Prize: Two tickets to the Rivoli; 11th Prize: Two tickets to the Criterion; 12th Prize: Two tickets to the Strand; 13th Prize: Two tickets to the Filmarte; 14th Prize: Two tickets to the 55th St. Playhouse.

7. In case of ties, duplicate prizes will be awarded.
8. Send your letter and list to the Movie Contest Editor, c-o Daily Worker, 50 East 13th St., New York City.

In choosing the ten best pictures, include four serious films, four comedies or musical films and two foreign-made films.

The contest begins on Sunday, Dec. 13, and will continue until Saturday, Jan. 2.

From time to time lists of films shown in the various Broadway theatres will be published in the Daily and Sunday Worker.

Read the contest conditions carefully. Help select the picture to receive the Daily Worker Award for Merit for 1936.

• • •

Read the Daily Worker for lists of pictures shown in the leading motion picture houses. In this manner you will be able to refresh your memory. In the next issue of the Sunday Worker, we will publish a list of foreign-made films of 1936, including those made in the Soviet Union.

STARS COMING TO JAMBOREE

Celebrities . . .

Of course, everyone is a celebrity.

The seamen who go out on the picket line . . . the WPA workers who sit-down and wait so that everyone's job may be made more secure.

These as well as the celebrities of theatre, screen music and the literary world are due to attend the Page Seven Jamboree at Studio 503, Steinway Hall, next Friday evening.

Joe Laurie, Jr., famous littlecomedian and star of "Swing Your Lady," is coming over to wise crack with the Daily Worker boys.

Angna Enters telephoned in that she's coming, maybe to dance to swing music and in any event to tell what she saw in Spain, where she was visiting when the Fascist generals attacked the Spanish people.

Tamaris promises to drop in and say hello to all her friends.

Will Geer is expected, with his twang and his droll jokes and his repertoire of ballads.

Bill Doll telephoned from Alex Yokel's office a few minutes ago and said that he'd bring Billy Lynn and Shirley Booth over from "Three Men on a Horse."

Charlie Dexter was last seen entering the Follies stage door with an invitation to Gypsy Rose Lee. If he doesn't come back soon, the probability is that she's coming and he's staying there so as to make sure she'll be with us.

In any event, it's all for the Daily Worker's $100,000 Fund and the price is low for dancing to Astley Stevens' band. There'll be refreshments and so on, if you get what we mean, so let's hear from you. Tickets are now on sale at the Page Seven Office, Daily Worker. They are 50 cents each.

GIELGUD REMAINS FOR 2 MORE WEEKS

For the second time Guthrie McClintic has had to extend the New York engagement of John Gielgud, Judith Anderson, Arthur Byron and Lillian Gish in "Hamlet." It now is arranged that the company will move from the Empire Theatre to St. James's Theatre on Monday night, Dec. 21, and will remain there until Saturday night, Jan. 9.

If nothing unexpected happens to prevent the announced performances being given, Gielgud will establish a new record for "Hamlet" in New York as his 108 consecutive performances will surpass John Barrymore's record of acting the role 101 times. For many years Edwin Booth held the record after having played Hamlet 100 times in New York, but this was broken fourteen years ago by Barrymore.

DROUGHT FILM

The much discussed Resettlement Administration film, "The Plow That Broke the Plains," has been acquired by Lenauer International Film Inc., for distribution throughout the world with the exception of the United States.

The film was directed by Pare Lorentz, who at the present moment is directing another film in the Mississippi Valley for the Resettlement Administration, and obtained a large distribution in the United States, in spite of the resistance of the major circuits.

THE ART OF SKIING

A film featuring Hannes Schneider, world champion skier at his school in the Austrian Tyrol, is being shown at the Filmarte Theatre, simultaneously with Schneider's appearance in Madison Square Garden

On the Record

By MARTIN McCALL

The piano music of Brahms has the advantage of a form equivalent to the musical ideas, an advantage often noticeably absent from the larger instrumental works. Especially in the Intermezzi (Opuses 116, 117, 119) Brahms's last piano compositions, is there an essential lucidity and compactness, an expression pruned of muddy harmonic appurtenances. Brahms wrote them at the height of his maturity, and their peculiarly penetrative character has infinite implications. Selections from the three opuses have been recorded by Wilhelm Bachaus, and together with the complete book of the Waltzes (Opus 39), comprise a recent Victor Album (M-321). Bachaus's style is at once brilliant and full of ease, and there is no cavilling at his excellent interpretation of Brahms.

Bach's Brandenburg Concerto No. 2 played by the Paris Ecole Normale Chamber Orchestra under Alfred Cortot (Victor 11930, 11931), is somewhat heavier than necessary. The harpischord is used, and also the high "Bach" trumpet. The unnamed trumpeter plays with dizzying virtuosity, and the orchestra plays with enthusiasm, if not with maximum refinement.

Elizabeth Schumann, soprano, continues her fine recordings of Lieder, with Schumann's "Lorelei" and "Staendchen," and Schubert's "An die Nachtigall" and "Liebhaber in Allen Gestalten" (Victor, 1764). Her style, mannerisms and all, is as usual, very good.

Recordings of complete operas have appeared lately: Victor has issued Mozart's "Marriage of Figaro," which we hope to review presently; Columbia has issued in consecutive order Gluck's "Orpheus," Verdi's "Falstaff," and Boito's Mefistofeles."

Mrs. Carroll Gets a Cast

Additions to the cast of "The Two Mrs. Carrolls," drama by Marguerite Veiller, which opens in Washington Dec. 28, include Grant Mills, Whitford Kane, Betty Hanna and Mabel Paige.

Daily Worker Award of Merit Going to Best Film

KEEP MOVING, SAYS LANG

Movement, continuous movement, is the secret of successful motion picture direction, according to Fritz Lang, noted European director of "M," "Metropolis" and "Fury" fame.

"If your players are standing still, keep the camera moving," says Lang.

"I made it a point to keep the camera crane busy on all dialogue shots. The principal requisite of a good motion picture is motion. Without it the picture drags. Interest can only be sustained at its highest pitch when something is happening all time.

"The audiences are rarely aware of the constant movement of the cameras, even in a so-called static scene, nevertheless the scene would probably seem dead without it."

In general, says Lang, the better camera technique passes unobserved by the audience, which is satisfied by the ever-changing scene without observing the subtlety with which the effect of movement is achieved.

ERICA MANN REVUE COMING DEC. 29TH

Erica Mann's "The Peppermill," an intimate revue which has given more than a thousand performances in Europe, and recently concluded an extended run in Holland, will open for a limited engagement on Tuesday evening, December 29th, at the Chanin Auditorium, the little theatre a-top the Chain Building. The revue will be given here in English. Erica Mann is the daughter of Thomas Mann, the famous German author and Nobel prize-winner who was recently deprived of his citizenship. Miss Mann was for some years a well-known actress in the German theatre before she became the actor-manager of "The Peppermill." This revue, which belongs to the tradition of such informal entertainment as "Chauve-Souris," opened in Munich in 1933 and quickly became an international success on the Continent where critics praised its satire and humor concerning contemporary events.

Though it will be given here in English, it will be staged in the same manner in which it was done abroad, witeh the original company of leading players. It is presented here by Columbia Concerts Corporation under the direction of F. C. Coppicus who brought to New York the famous Chinese artist Mei Lan-Fang and his company of actors, dancers and musicians.

New Names for Old

The public refuses to be hoodwinked. Now that William Randolph Hearst changed the name of his newsreel and installed a new commentator, the public hisses "News of the Day" and announcer Jean Paul King, as vigorously, if not more so, than it did "Hearst's Metrotone News" and announcer Edwin C. Hill. Jean Paul King may have been totally unconnected with Hearst before he got this job, but now he's a Hearst man, and the public doesn't like him or his boss.

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Thurs., Dec. 10 at 9:00 **"MR. JIGGINS of JIGGINSTOWN"** LABOR STAGE form. Princess Thea. 39th St., E. of B'way

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WHAT'S ON

Tonight

THE Negro character in American Literature. Sterling Brown, speaker; Horace Gregory, chairman, at Irving Plaza, 15 Irving Place. Ausp.: League of American Writers. 8:15 P.M., Monday, Dec. 14.

OPEN MEMBERSHIP MEETING. All members and friends please attend. This is your club. We need your help in planning future activities. Social hour after meeting, stay and make merry at Downtown Peoples Centre, 116 University Place, 8:30 P.M.

TAMPA CONVENTION and the Agricultural Workers. Speakers: Don Henderson, Leif Dahl, Abraham Isserman at Orosco Room, New School for Social Research. Auspices: N.Y. Committee to Aid Agricultural Workers. Adm. free.

SOVIET MOVIE—"New Gulliver," and "Happy Youth," at Blue Bird Theatre, Saratoga and Livonia Aves., B'klyn, December 14th to December 20th. Auspices: IWO Jewish Children's Schools. 1:00 P.M. to 11:00 P.M.

Tuesday

HEAR HARRISON GEORGE — brilliant writer, speaker and columnist. Subject—"Roosevelt and the Inter-American Conference." 137 E. 13th St., one flight up. Ausp.: Thomas Jefferson Branch C. P. 8:35 P.M. Benefit Daily Worker.

Coming

LOOK this over and remember it! "Game for Spain," followed by dancing and entertainment. Table tennis tournament, featuring the country's best players. Social Dance Group, 94 Fifth Ave., near 14th St. Con. 35c. Wednesday, Dec. 16. 8:30 P.M.

MASS PROTEST MEETING, Thursday, December 17, at 8:30 P.M. "Pink Slips in the Federal Theatre." Symposium at Washington Irving High School, 16th St. and Irving Place. Speakers: Willis Morgan, President City Projects Council; Morris Watson, head of Living Newspaper; Irwin Shaw, author of "Bury the Dead"; Tamiris, Dance Project, Herbert Kline, editor New Theatre. Ausp.: New Theatre Committee. General adm. 25c. Tickets on sale at C.P.C., 39 W. 22nd St.; New Theatre, 156 W. 44th St. All WPA workers and friends should attend! Dec. 17.

"DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM," an introductory lecture by David Ramsey, on Friday, Dec. 18, 8 P.M., at Webster Hall, 125 E. 11th St. Ausp.: People's Forum. Adm. in advance, 25c; at door, 35c. Tickets at all Workers & People's Bookshops.

PEOPLE'S FRONT! PEOPLE'S FRONT! Not in France, but right here in Harlem! Come and meet the All People's Party at their First Annual Dance at Park Palace, 110th St. and 5th Ave., Friday, Dec. 18th. Auguste Coen and his Boricuas, internationally famous band. Ksep December 18 open—Imperative!

PROFESSOR SCOTT NEARING — "Future of Democracy, Spain, the Soviet Union," at Herman Ridder High School, Boston Road and 173rd St. Subs. 25c. Ausp.: PSU. Friday, Dec. 18, 8 P.M.

SURPRISE entertainment and dance at St. Mark's Auditorium, 138th St. between Lenox and 8th Aves. Ausp.: New Singers. Subs. 50c. Saturday, Dec. 19, 8:30 P.M.

WORKERS SCHOOL FORUM—Jack Stachel will speak on "The 8th A. F. of L. Convention and the Future of American Labor," Saturday, Dec. 19, 2:30 P.M. at 35 E. 12th St. 2nd floor. Adm. 25c.

"BIRTH OF NEW CHINA," sensational full length picture. Speaker: E. P. Greene, "China Today" expert. Brooklyn Heights Centre, 284 Fulton St. (Boro Hall). Subs. 25c. Sunday, Dec. 20. 8 P.M.

ERNST TOLLER will lecture on "The Theatre in a Changing World" at the New School, 66 West 12th St., Sunday, Dec. 20, 6:30 P.M. Adm. $1.00.

EVERYBODY'S Goin' t' Town! Third annual Christmas Eve. Ball in Harlem. This year at the spacious Lido Ballroom, 144th St. and 7th Ave. Harlem celebrities in gala floor show. Swing music by Ed. Bonelli's Society Orch. Tickets 50c in adv., 55c at door. Ausp.: Angelo Herndon Club, Box and Loges reservations phone TI. 5-8947.

HAVE your party send in a donation to the Financial Drive and Credit it to this column—don't forget our slogan—We make you a success—so make us a success! Send us your votes!

CHRISTMAS Frolic — swing music, Broadway stars at IWO Center, 4 W. 16th St. Ausp.: Followers of Nature Camp and IWO Br. 736. Proceeds to Daily Worker. It's on Christmas Eve at 8 P.M.

RESERVE New Years Eve! Dancing and unusual entertainment with Block and Sully (radio stars) 2 bands at the Bronx Winter Garden, Washington and Tremont Ave., Bronx. Adm. $1.25 in advance. Call Melrose 5-9134. Auspices: Bronx Professional Alliance.

DORIS HUMPHREY, Charles Weidman and groups in the only New York presentation of two new major ballets: "With My Red Fires," and "Quest," as presented at Bennington College Festival. Hippodrome, Friday Evening, Jan. 15. Tickets on sale now at box office, Bookshops and ILD, 113 E. 19th St. Remember last December at Carnegie Hall? Reserve your tickets now!

NEW YEAR'S EVE FROLIC. Supper dance, entertainment at the MacDowell Club, 166 East 73rd St. Auspices: Anti-Fascist Literature Committee. Subs. $2.

SWING away at Palm Gardens at New Theatre, New Year's Eve Frolic. Palm Gardens, 52nd St. West of 8th Ave. Adm. $1.25 in adv.; $1.50 at door. Make your reservations early! Get tickets at New Magazine, 156 W. 44th St., New Theatre League, 117 W. 46th St., and all workers bookshops. Dance to Club Valhalla Swing band!

Registration Notices

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SPORTS DAILY WORKER

NEW YORK, MONDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1936

Says Doc:

Ads Have Made Him Homeless
But Benson Is Not Sore
Tomorrow's Another Day
And He'll Be Back for More

Bombers Held To Tie in Last Game of Season

City Island Skippers Play Inspired Game

Completely lacking the usual smooth flow of well administrated plays, The Brown Bombers fought a 7-7 tie with the City Island Skippers, yesterday, at Dyckman Oval, to wind up the current football season for the Harlem eleven.

For the past few weeks the world's champion Negro team was idle. Their lay-off from scrimmage was evident when contrasting this score to that of their previous encounter, when the Bombers took the Skippers to the tune of 14-6.

From the opening kick-off both teams displayed sloppy playing. Fumbles by the Bomber backfield and their poor line defense which enabled the enemy to penetrate, knocking down attempted passes, was surprising to see.

Only in the second quarter did both elevens show any driving power. A barrage of shovel, lateral and forward passes by the visitors gave them the first score. With Garrison, City Island fullback, shooting the ball first to Sandick and then to Ryan, the Skippers took it from midfield down the goal line.

An inspired Brown Bomber team retaliated in the closing minutes of the half. Joe Lillard hitting the middle of the line brought the ball from deep in his own territory to midfield. Otis Troupe, carrying the pigskin, crashed the center of the Skippers defense and side-stepped along the side lines to the visitors' 15-yard stripe. Vainly Lillard flung passes which were batted down. With seconds to play Lillard jet go another long fly to Troupe way over the enemy's goal line which registered. Lillard converted on a drop-kick to tie the score.

Brown Bombers	0	7	0	0—7
City Island Skippers	0	7	0	0—7

Hanesher In Tie

Led by William Yaner, leading goal getter of the Manhattan Soccer League, the Hanesher F. C. held the Scandinavian Seconds to 4-4 tie at Van Cortlandt Park, yesterday. The game was hard fought, and the lead changed frequently but when the final whistle came both teams were on even terms.

Spartans Drop One

Playing with nine men, the Spartan F. C., crack colored soccer eleven of the Manhattan League, bowed to the fast moving Young Zion S. C. by the score of 5—0 in a hectic affair at Van Cortlandt Park. The Negro booters put up a stubborn game despite the disadvantage and held the East Siders down to one goal in the opening period.

Comedian of Grind Goes Serious

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Packers' Aerials Down Boston 21-6

Herber Flings 40-Yard Passes to Hutson and Blood—Rentner and Smith Star for Redskins—30,000 See Championship Game

By Doc Daugherty

Thirty thousand football fans sat in brilliant winter sunshine at the Polo Grounds yesterday and saw the favored Green Bay Packers walk off with the professional grid championship by defeating the Boston Redskins by a score of 21 to 6. The vaunted aerial attack of the ponderous Packers overwhelmed the eastern team which in other games has relied upon the superiority of its defense. The famous bullet passes of Arnold Herber, Packer back, gave two touchdowns to the westerners and a blocked kick brought the third.

The Redskins made their sole score by means of a powerful plunge down the field from their own 22-yard line.

HUTSON GOES OVER

Green Bay kicked off. Boston failed to gain and the Packers could do little, following Riley Smith's punt. A fumble, following some line plays, was followed by a Herber-Hutson pass that went 42 yards for a score. Ernie Smith kicked the goal.

Starting on their 22-yard line, Erwin and Pug Rentner plunged and passed through the Packer team to score for Boston. Rentner's pass to Justice covered 30 yards in midfield. Off-tackle slants and a short pass from Rentner to Millner brought the ball to the two-yard line where Rentner plunged over. Riley Smith failed to convert.

Boston threatened in the second quarter, but could not advance the ball beyond the 22-yard line. Riley Smith attempted a placement, but his kick was blocked. Although Rentner intercepted a pass, the Packers held their opponents and the half ended with the score of 7 to 6.

HERBER HEAVES 'EM

Herber began passing to Gantelbein shortly after the half time. One pass advanced the ball from the 28-yard line to the 40. A titanic pass from Green Bay's 40, Herber to Blood, brought the ball to the Boston six-yard line. After two tries Herber shoveled to Gantelbein for a score. The infallible Ernie Smith kicked the extra point.

Boston now gave up. Riley Smith's punt was blocked on his own 18; it rolled to the two-yard line where Hutson fell on the ball. Monnett went over and E. Smith again kicked between the bars.

Score by periods:				
Green Bay	7	0	7	7—21
Boston	0	6	0	0— 6

Hispanos Win, Regain Lead In League

Giannotti Scores Twice in Thrilling 3-2 Victory

Playing before a large crowd at Starlight Park, the Brooklyn Hispano defeated the lowly Brookhattan by the score of 3-2 and again assumed the lead in the American division. The game was a thriller from whistle to whistle, with the Truckers playing their best game of the year, only to be nosed out by the sharpshooting Red Devils.

Gianotti, famous Cuban star, scored twice for the winners and McKillup once, while Boyle notched both markers for the hapless Starlight crew.

With all six goals coming in the second half, the league leading St. Mary Celtics were held to a 3-3 draw by the strong Scots-Americans at Celtic Park, yesterday.

The contest which was fast and spirited saw both elevens on even terms throughout. Steele, Curley and DeRostaing scored for the Brooklyn Gaels, while Briscoe, Moniz and Woichechowski came through for the Jersey Scots.

Another draw was recorded at Rifle Club Grounds in Philadelphia, where the New York Americans showed some fine football in checking the Philadelphia Germans, national soccer champions the game endings with a 1-1 score. Michaels put the New Yorkers ahead with a terrific drive, but Nemchick eluded the New York defense in the second half to save his team from defeat.

Scoring five goals, Clark helped the Paterson Caledonians rout the Boston Phillies 6-1 at Wessington Stadium. The victory was the third straight triumph for the Jersey booters. Paterson led at half time by 3-1, to which they added three more goals after the interval. In addition to Clark, DeVivo also scored for the winners, and Deal notched the lone goal for the Phillies.

Playing at Clarks Field, Newark, the Irish Americans gained an important 4-2 victory over the formidable Baltimore Cantons. This victory tasted so much sweeter to the Irish, as the Cantons beat them 4-1 at Baltimore last week, and the Jersey Irishmen were mighty anxious to turn the tables on their rivals.

Ecuador moved another step nearer to the top, when they defeated the plucky Brownsville I.W.O. soccer team 4-1 in a spirited contest at Betsy Head Park, yesterday afternoon. Ecuador led at half-time 2-0 on goals scored by Cottin and Meua. The South American booters continued to dominate the game after the interval and added two more markers to their total before the I.W.O. kickers were able to tally. Balban and Avila scored for the winners in the second half, while Abe Steuer saved the I.W.O. from a shutout. The game which was refereed by Max Scheier of the Furriers, was cleanly fought throughout.

Playing at Starlight Park preliminary to the Brookhattan Hispano clash, the Furriers B nosed out the Bar Kochba 3-2 in a hard fought match. The Furriers strengthened by Victor Goldstein and Landman, two first division players, led by two goals at half time, but the East Siders came back strong and tied the score. Shortly before the end, the Furriers scored again, keeping the slim lead until the end.

Hakoahs Lose Two

A goal in the closing minutes of the game gave the Hoboken Germans a 2-1 victory over the Hakoah in their exhibition game at Commercial Field. Hoboken played a fine game to hand the famous Jewish eleven its first set-back of the season.

In the preliminary, the Prospect Workers gained their fifth victory in six starts when they blanked the Hakoah Seconds by the score of 3-0. Weinreich opened the scoring for the winners in the first half, and Slansky and S. Greenwald added one apiece after ends were changed. Hakoah tried hard to score but could not pass the strong Prospect defense.

Norwegians Down Scots

Continuing on their winning streak the Norwegian Turners shut out the highly rated Greenock West of Scotland 2-0 at Bayridge Oval, yesterday, to strengthen their lead in the premier division of the Metropolitan League. Olson opened the score for the winners with a hard drive midway in the first half. The Turners added another in the second half, while holding their opponents scoreless.

* * *

In the preliminary, the Vikings turned in a fine 2-0 victory over the Brownsville Celtics. Shiel monopolized the scoring for the winners, scoring once in each period.

Today's Events

Boxing

St. Nicholas Palace—Bobby Pacho vs. Pete Mascia, Ray Napolitano vs. Danny Kopliek, Frankie Cavanna vs. Irish Uohnny McHale, eight rounds each; Herbie Katz vs. Al Caccese, six rounds; Tony Marsiliano vs. Harry Haffman, Pete Koloff vs. Irish Mickey Holland; Tommy Tucker vs. Harry Finkelstein, four rounds each.

Jamaica Arena—Amateur tournament.

Stauch's Coney Island Arena—Amateur tournament.

C. C. N. Y. Five Conceded Chance to Beat L.I.U.

'Game for Spain' Proposed for Two Great Quintets, Not Scheduled to Meet

By Lester Rodney

Basketball fans trouped out of the Hippodrome Saturday night with just one question on their lips—"How would C.C.N.Y. make out against L.I.U.?"

The question was inspired by the sight of the tall and talented Providence team being put to a silly-looking rout by Nat Holman's dazzling array of basketeers.

Opinions varied. Coach Bee of the L.I.U. team, an interested spectator, thought that City would give his boys a fight—and wished out loud that the game could be arranged.

GAME FOR SPAIN!

How about a Game for Spain between these two great teams of New York City boys? What say, coaches and athletic directors of C.C.N.Y. and L.I.U.? There isn't a more worthy cause than that of helping the Spanish people maintain their democratically elected government from the brutal stupidity of the fascist murderers.

And what a game it would be! A packed Garden would see that deadly and confident crew of Brooklynites jolted out of their complacency by this fast breaking and hard running City team. And while the Beavers have no one floorman like Ben Kramer to set up plays with mathematical precision, and no one dead-eyed shot like the phenomenal Julie Bender, they have one of the most spirited and fast-passing five men combinations in City history.

This C.C.N.Y. outfit is a little different from the usual run of Holman teams. The boys are a little smaller, but by the same token they are faster, cut harder, and shoot more often. They miss more, but hit more. And, unlike other city teams, they use the fast break down the court from defense to offence that was popularized by recent Western Pennsylvania teams visiting here. They have the speed and verve to get away with it, and left Providence way behind in sudden sorties down the court.

Red Cohen is a real floor man and will get better. Ace Goldstein is the closest City comes to L.I.U.'s Kramer in all-round passing efficiency, and he's a little too fancy-minded and not well enough grounded. Fliegal, the big center (only comparatively big), is the executioner around the basket. All in all, it's a very good 5-man basketball team.

Come on, you fans and students. Let's have an L.I.U.-C.C.N.Y. "Game for Spain."

Ask Howard Team To Play for Spain

The soccer team of Howard University, well known Negro college, offered to come to New York to meet a picked team from the crack Negro elevens of the city.

The metropolitan teams immediately wired to Howard the suggestion that the game be played as a "Game for Spain," the funds to go to the defenders of democracy in Spain. William Glaserman, secretary of the Manhattan Soccer League, who made the suggestion, is confident that it will be accepted. The picked New York team will be comprised of players of the Dauntless F. C., champs of the Manhattan League; the Maple F. C. of the Metropolitan District League; and the Spartan F. C., a fast team.

Howard has one of the foremost collegiate booting aggregations in the country, and will give soccer fans a real treat.

Louis Battles Simms Tonight

Joe to Meet All Comers Despite N. Y. Decision

CLEVELAND, Ohio, Dec. 13.—Joe Louis, undismayed by the decision of the New York State Boxing Commission which barred him from meeting Jimmy Braddock in New York, faces Eddie Simms here tonight in a 10-round bout. He is favored to win by the usual knockout.

Louis and his managers were surprised by the decision of the New York politically-minded body, which gave in to the demands of Hitler's storm trooper, Max Schmeling, who demanded that they prevent Braddock from losing the crown to Louis before Max could get a crack at it.

Johnny Black, Louis's trainer, told reporters here that Louis is going right on with his courageous campaign against all comers and that the Brown Bomber does not intend to let the New York commission cheat him of a crack at the heavyweight championship. "We'll take the Braddock match if the promoters will get together and fight outside of New York City," said Black.

Louis is in fine fettle. Simms, a likely newcomer, is said to pack a wallop, but Joe professes not to be afraid.

Knights Keep Lead

The Bronx Knights today were still in possession of the league lead by virtue of their 2—2 tie with the strong British Trumpeldor eleven. The game which was played at Central Park, saw the Trumpeldors put up a splendid fight against their noted rivals, especially in the first period when they led on a goal scored by Greenberg. Siegel evened the score for the Knights shortly after ends were changed and a few minutes later scored again to put his team in the lead. Barnam came through for Trumpeldor near the end

LITTLE LEFTY